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THE COMMUNIST

A MARXIST MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO ADVANCEMENT OF DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT AND ACTION

EARL BROWDER, Editor EUGENE DENNIS, Associate Editor

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BACK THE ATTACK! EVERYTHING FOR VICTORY!

(Manifesto of the National Committee of the Communist Political Association on the Invasion of Europe, June 6, 1944.)

FELLOW AMERICANS:

D-Day is here. The hour of decision, the great day of liberation, has struck.

Our troops, side by side with their Allies, stand on European soil; Hitlerism's doom approaches. The heroic armies of the partisans rise from their ruined cities to join us within fascism's Fortress Europa as our troops smash on from the French beachheads scarcely twenty-four hours after they have liberated Rome. And from the East, the armies of our great Soviet Ally stand poised to continue their annihilating blows which have created our epic opportunity in the West.

This is the day—D-Day. Every patriot in America has waited for this decisive moment of mankind's history. We know that many hard miles of bitter fighting are ahead. And America does not flinch. Every patriot knows that our brothers and sons are counting on us as they advance with single-minded heroism, with one thought in mind—victory. We know that they expect the same single-mindedness of us, the same unshatterable unity behind the Commander-in-Chief.

D-Day is here, but the decision is yet to be won. The speed with which it comes depends upon the total teamwork of the brave Allies, the American-Soviet-British coalition: it depends upon the total teamwork of every man, woman, and child in our nation.

The great invasion of France, together with the Red Army's blows from the East, will shorten the war. It will hasten the doom of the Hitlerites.

Thus the historic accord of Teheran—America's path in war and peace—is being fulfilled. The Teheran charter to speed victory and to create an enduring peace is guaranteed by the fighting alliance and stalwart cooperation of America, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, who stand solidly united with their Allies of the United Nations to give everything — everything — for victory.

On the home front we must march as the front line: everybody in his place, everybody doing his share. Not one minute must be lost; not one ounce of effort wasted. He who shirks at this moment of our national destiny does the enemy's work. He who seeks partisan aims at this crisis in our country's life

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has nothing in common with patriotism. He who strives to disrupt the unity of our nation, who whispers "negotiated peace" is a traitor and deserves a traitor's end.

There is a task for every American—whatever his class or station in life. It is to forge such national unity behind our Commander-in-Chief, President Roosevelt, that no enemy can ever divide us: it is to turn out every gun, airplane, tank that our men and Allies need.

The working man, the trade unionist, faces a central responsibility. His is the supreme obligation to produce and produce and produce. History has called upon him to weld all men and classes who want victory, into one indissoluble whole. The working class will cast from its midst any false leader who seeks to interrupt production, who seeks to turn it from the line of march.

This is D-Day. As our troops advance, as the fighting grows hotter and fiercer, the nation must stand guard as one man.

America must go on sentry duty against the enemy within—against those who would exploit the lives and sacrifices of our men in order to try and compel a negotiated peace.

America knows the ugly face of this enemy; it is the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson Axis. It is their counterparts in Congress like the unspeakable Nyes and Wheelers, and their accomplices throughout the nation, like Gerald L. K. Smith, Coughlin, Norman Thomas and the Trotskyites. They have labored with might and main, conspired endlessly to prevent this assault upon the Continent; they have sought to undermine the Teheran agreement of the Allies. America has suffered their plottings, their conspiracies, all too long. All defeatists and seditionists must be suppressed. Their place is behind bars; theirs must be a traitor's fate.

This is D-Day. The day all patriotic Americans must face their supreme test together, as their sons are fighting, together.

Fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers of our men at the firing line: this is the day when everybody who stands for victory, democracy, and an enduring peace must close ranks. Victory permits no boundaries of religion, color or political affiliation. We must stand and fight as unitedly as our sons in the ranks.

Now if ever in our history must all—all—patriots fight unitedly—give unitedly. For we know that the password to victory's camp is "Unity"—the unity of our Allies, the unity of our home front.

And we Communists, side by side with all patriots, pledge our strength, our lives, for victory. We stand in salute to our brothers at the firing lines, saying to them "We shall give everything for victory over Hitlerism, and its Japanese accomplices. We shall give everything for freedom, peace and progress."

This is what D-Day demands of every American. This is our pledge.

National Committee,
Communist Political
Association

EARL BROWDER,
President

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GREETINGS TO GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

*(Extended by the National Convention of the Communist Political Association, held in New York, May 20-22, 1944)**

THE hour of decision is here. Upon you, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Invasion Forces in Western Europe, rests the heavy responsibility of leading to victory the valiant armies of America and Britain, which, together with the great Red Army of our Soviet Ally, face history's greatest test which will decide in battle the destiny of our nation and of the world.

Together with the whole American people, we, like the soldiers under your direct command, take our battle stations. Our every thought is for you and your men, our every effort directed toward hastening decisive victory.

We will not waver nor turn back. We will help reinforce the unity of the home front around our Commander-in-Chief, President Roosevelt, in maximum service to the battlefront. We will help solidify the fighting alliance of our country and its allies to win the war and secure the peace.

However long and hard the road, however dear the price of complete victory, we are with you until the fascist enemy is routed and destroyed.

* Reprinted from the June issue.

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TRIBUTE TO THOSE WHO HAVE GIVEN THEIR LIVES IN DEFENSE OF OUR COUNTRY AGAINST THE FASCIST FOE

(Rendered by the National Convention of the Communist Poliitcal Association, May 20, 1944)

IN THIS people's war of national liberation millions of people have grown great, forever hallowing the ground on which as heroes of the people they gave the last full measure of devotion. In our own Army, Navy, Air Force and Merchant Marine, and in those of our Allies, in the guerrilla bands and underground sabotage brigades, men and women of every creed, political conviction, class and color have counted their own lives a small price to pay for the destruction of fascism, for the survival of democracy, or human dignity and hope. Many American Communists are of these honored dead.

It is not for us merely to honor those who in their dying did honor to the human race, to the freedom-loving peoples. To all of them, and to our own Communist comrades, we pay the only tribute that is fitting—that of emulating, wherever we are and whatever we do, their example of patriotism and courageous self-sacrifice. We take from them the arms they have been forced to lay down, the high purpose that they carried into battle. The job that they began shall be finished. We will win a world without fascist barbarism and war where their children and their children's children can live in peace and happiness for many generations to come.

To this end we consecrate our lives and resources.

We dedicate everything for the triumph of democracy over Hitlerism and the Axis.

We pledge to weld the anti-fascist unity of our country and the alliance of the United Nations.

We vow to maintain uninterrupted war production to forge the weapons of war.

We resolve unconditionally to back the Allied invasion of Europe and our military efforts everywhere.

We will leave no stone unturned to bring this just war to a victorious conclusion, to forge an enduring peace, to secure democratic progress.

We salute those who have fallen in the common anti-fascist cause of the United Nations so that liberty and "government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

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ORDER OF THE DAY TO THE ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

BY GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Allied Headquarters, London, June 6, 1944.

SOLDIERS, sailors and airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force:

You are about to embark upon the great crusade toward which we have striven these many months. The eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of liberty - loving peoples everywhere march with you.

You will bring about the destruction of the German war machine, the elimination of Nazi tyranny over the oppressed peoples of Europe and security for ourselves in a free world.

Your task will not be an easy one. Your enemy is well trained, well equipped and battle hardened. He will fight savagely.

But this is the year 1944. Much has happened since the Nazi triumphs of 1940-41.

The United Nations have inflicted upon the Germans great defeat in open battle man to man. Our air offensive has seriously reduced their strength in the air and their capacity to wage war on the ground.

Our home fronts have given us an overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war and placed at our disposal great reserves of trained fighting men.

The free men of the world are marching together to victory. I have full confidence in your courage, devotion to duty and skill in battle.

We will accept nothing less than full victory.

Good luck, and let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God upon this great and noble undertaking.

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A STATEMENT TO THE PEOPLES OF FRANCE AND WESTERN EUROPE

(Broadcast from Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force, Somewhere in Britain, June 6, 1944)

BY GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

PEOPLES of western Europe:

A landing was made this morning on the coast of France by troops of the Allied Expeditionary Force. This landing is part of the concerted United Nations plan for the liberation of Europe, made in conjunction with our great Russian allies.

I have this message for all of you.

Although the initial assault may not have been made in your own country, the hour of your liberation is approaching.

All patriots, men and women, young and old, have a part to play in the achievement of final victory. To members of resistance movements, whether led by national or outside leaders, I say, "Follow the instructions you have received."

To patriots who are not members of organized resistance groups I say, "Continue your passive resistance, but do not needlessly endanger your lives until I give you the signal to rise and strike the enemy. The day will come when I shall need your united strength. Until that day, I call on you for the hard task of discipline and restraint."

Citizens of France: I am proud to have again under my command the gallant forces of France. Fighting beside their allies, they will play a worthy part in the liberation of their homeland. Because the initial landing has been made on the soil of your country, I repeat to you with even greater emphasis my message to the peoples of other occupied countries in western Europe. Follow the instructions of your leaders. A premature uprising of all Frenchmen may prevent you from being of maximum help to your country in the critical hour. Be patient. Prepare.

As Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force, there is imposed on me the duty and responsibility of taking all measures necessary to the prosecution of the war. Prompt and willing obedience to the orders that I shall issue is essential. Effective civil administration of France must be provided by Frenchmen. All persons must con-

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tinue in their present duties unless otherwise instructed.

Those who have made common cause with the enemy and so betrayed their country will be removed. As France is liberated from her oppressors, you yourselves will choose your representatives and the government under which you wish to live.

In the course of this campaign for the final defeat of the enemy you may sustain further loss and damage. Tragic though they may be, they are part of the price of victory. I assure you that I shall do all in my power to mitigate your hardships. I know that I can count on your steadfastness now, no less than in the past.

The heroic deeds of Frenchmen who have continued their struggle against the Nazis and their Vichy satellites, in France and throughout the French Empire, have been an example and an inspiration to all of us.

This landing is but the opening phase of the campaign in western Europe. Great battles lie ahead. I call upon all who love freedom to stand with us. Keep your faith staunch. Our arms are resolute. Together we shall achieve victory.

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GERMANY'S MILITARY SITUATION

BY COLONEL M. TOLCHENOV

[*The following article, which appeared in the Soviet journal War and the Working Class, Number 10, was written before the fall of Rome and the Allied invasion of Europe. Because of its searching analysis of Germany's military situation, as well as its profound explanation of the efficacy of the two-front offensive warfare, the article fully retains today the validity and vitality it possessed at the time of its writing. The Editors.*]

SUMMER—the period most favorable for large-scale military operations—is approaching. It is regarded as a universally accepted fact that the continent of Western Europe is due again, as in the summer of 1940, to become the arena of intensive engagements between armies millions strong.

However, the similarity between the present circumstances in Europe and those in which military events developed four years ago is only superficial. Actually, the military situation of Hitler Germany and the forces opposed to her have undergone a radical change. Whereas at that period the German-fascist army by swift dashes seized one European country after another, and it seemed to many there was no force in the world capable of halting the avalanche of Hitler's armored divisions, today his badly battered war machine is facing a last frantic fight for its very existence.

The best idea of Germany's military situation today can perhaps be had by comparing the strategical aims which the German command pursued three or four years ago with those which it is now in a position to set its armed forces. Having vanquished a number of countries in Western and Southern Europe, Germany hurled the full weight of her war machine against the Soviet Union. The Hitlerites calculated on destroying the Red Army first, after which, without having any threat to fear from the East, they would proceed to conquer Britain and then America. In short, Hitler at that period cherished dreams of world domination, and the strategical conceptions of the German armed forces bore a markedly offensive character.

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The hostilities on the Soviet-German front made it clear to the Germans that they could not break Soviet resistance, and induced the German command to renounce its offensive doctrine which had for many decades been cultivated in the German army. This renunciation was not, of course, voluntary. The history of large-scale wars knows no instance of a belligerent party obtaining victory by defensive action alone. Hence, when over a year ago the leaders of Hitler Germany recognized they could not conduct successful offensive operations they thereby admitted the impossibility of German victory.

Of course, cases are known when the belligerent side adhered at the beginning of a campaign to defensive actions and then, having weakened its adversary and mobilized its own human and material resources to the full, passed to the offensive and administered a decisive defeat to the enemy. But, as we know, Hitler's strategy was calculated for a different method of waging war. And the experience of a number of wars shows that he who at the beginning of hostilities depletes his forces in fruitless attempts to achieve a decisive victory, is then compelled to pass to the defensive and after that can no longer count upon a successful offensive, or consequently upon ultimate victory.

When they unleashed the war in Europe, the Germans blindly believed in the infallibility of their blitzkrieg; in other words in the absolute superiority of offensive methods over defensive methods. It is therefore not surprising that, when the blitzkrieg on the Soviet-German front failed, Hitler's strategy found itself at an impasse. In its search for a way out, the German command sought to stabilize the front in order to retain the territory it seized. The Germans were thus compelled to resort to the doctrine of positional warfare, a doctrine whose unsoundness they had themselves previously propagated. They made a theoretical right-about-face, and from having underestimated defensive methods proceeded now to overestimate them, and suddenly conceived a faith in the impregnability of fortified defensive "walls."

The Red Army's offensive operations foiled the enemy's plans for a stabilized front. The German-fascist troops proved unable to cope with the task set them, and under pressure of the Red Army the front line began swiftly to recede westward.

The Germans tried to make out that the retreat of their armies was a deliberate withdrawal, allegedly with the purpose of shortening the front and their lines of communication and preserving manpower. They asserted their intention was to "exchange territory for more favorable strategical positions." Naturally, there may be cases in the course of war when an army which finds itself in unfavorable conditions retires, in order to break contact with its adversary and to occupy more favorable positions. But in such cases it does not waste its energies in fortifying occupied territory, and does its utmost to avoid collisions with its antagonist, for it is precisely the desire to avoid fighting in the

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given conditions which induces it to withdraw. Is that the way the German-fascist army behaved? No. Over a long period of time it feverishly erected powerful and solid defense zones extending in depth to hundreds of kilometers, and frantically defended its defense works, sometimes to the last man.

Moreover, if the German army was executing a deliberately planned withdrawal, how are we to explain its immense losses in lives and armament? How are we to explain that it abandoned its magazines, thousands of trains loaded with military equipment, etc.? The explanation is that the German army was compelled to retreat under pressure of the Red Army, and that in the spring and summer of this year the retreat assumed a disorganized character. The German army, which always boasted of its organization, abandoned in its retreat military stores and armament in serviceable condition, as well as its wounded.

That the German-fascist troops retreated under compulsion is also attested by the repeated encirclement and annihilation of large enemy army groups by the Red Army. We have only to recall that the German troops which were surrounded in the areas of Korsun-Shevchenkovsky, Shigiryovka, Bereznegovataya, Skala, Razdelnaya, Tarnopol, the Crimea, and other places sustained casualties which in the aggregate even exceeded the German losses in Stalingrad. In the face of these facts, certain foreign military observers who were originally inclined to regard the Germans' enforced retreat as a triumph of German strategy were later obliged to alter their opinion. Even the German press has abandoned its officially cheerful tone and admits that severe defeats were sustained by Hitler's troops on the Soviet-German front.

* * *

The Red Army's brilliant victories, coupled with the successes of our Allies, have seriously worsened the strategical position of Hitler Germany and her vassals, and radically changed the conditions for the further course of the war.

First, the Soviet troops in their swift advance to the Carpathian foothills have cut the Germans' front in two and deprived them of their main communications. The Germans' southern group can now rely only on the inadequately developed railway system passing through Rumanian territory.

Second, the Red Army's offensive created the premises for the complete ejection of the enemy from the territory of our country. The German army has been deprived of important strategical communications, railway centers and naval ports, and its offensive opportunities have diminished. At the same time the Red Army acquired favorable conditions for the further prosecution of the fight.

Third, whereas hitherto the oscillations on the front line took place on Soviet territory without affecting what the Germans regard as their "vital territory," now the situation in this respect has definitely changed. The Germans' defeat at

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Leningrad has very adversely affected the positions of Hitler's vassal—Finland—and the German-fascist troops on her territory. In the south the Red Army entered Rumania and has reached the Soviet-Czechoslovak frontier. It has smashed the German-Rumanian army in the Crimea and captured Sevastopol. The recovery of this important Black Sea naval base will have an immense influence on operations against Rumania's sea communications. Soviet troops have reached the borders of central Europe, at the gateway to the Balkan Peninsula.

Any further advance by the Red Army will create a real threat to Germany's positions at the approaches to her own territory. The German command has had to undertake the organization of the defenses of Hitler's satellites, and has occupied Hungary and dispatched additional troop contingents to Rumania and Bulgaria. Hitler is compelled to expend his divisions in the occupation of the territory of his vassals. This act of aggression on the part of Germany against her own "allies" speaks eloquently of the catastrophic state of the Hitler bloc.

Fourth, it is an open secret that manpower has now become the most acute problem, and an unsolvable one, for the Hitlerites. Germany's manpower resources have been depleted to the extreme. The irreparable losses sustained by the German-fascist army, and the fact that its main forces are contained on the Soviet-German front, are becoming a decisive factor in the present strategical situation. The Red Army's successful offensive is compelling the Hitlerite leaders to transfer their last reserves to the East in order to avert disaster, with the result that ever-increasing forces are being riveted to the Soviet-German front. This cannot but affect the state of Germany's armed forces in Western Europe.

Naturally, these qualitative changes in the situation in the Soviet-German theater, which is a decisive theater, are substantially altering Germany's position in the West. The Red Army's victories are creating extremely favorable conditions for active operations by our Allies, for an active attack on Hitler Germany from the East as well as from the West, as outlined by the Teheran Conference. Thanks to the Red Army's successes, conditions are immeasurably more favorable for our Allies' offensive operations in the West than ever before. With less risk than ever, British and American troops are now able to attack the forces which the already badly-mauled German army has in Western Europe.

Our great Allies, the United States and Great Britain, have done much to facilitate the successes of the Red Army. Systematic attacks by British and American air forces on enemy military targets are undermining Germany's military power. The armed forces of our Allies cleared the Axis troops from the African Continent, consolidated their positions in the Mediterranean and then seized the southern part of Italy. It is true that tactically the Anglo-American Command has been

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unable to achieve big successes in Italy, but it is containing a large part of the German army there. The heroic fight of the Yugoslavian people and their National Liberation Army is also containing a number of enemy divisions.

* * *

The operations of our Allies were for a long period characterized by peripheral actions bearing a preparatory character. The British and American forces are now ready for decisive operations. There can be no doubt but that the combined blow by the Red Army from the East and our Allies from the West will bring about the complete defeat of Hitler Germany. Big difficulties will, of course, have to be overcome. While Germany's armed forces are now not strong enough to achieve success in offensive operations in Italy, they are still in a position to offer serious resistance in defensive operations. But if the German army is unable to stem the Red Army's offensive, how can it stand up against the combined might of the three great powers—the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain?

The point is not only that when the decisive battles begin in Europe the might of the Red Army will be augmented by the Anglo-American forces of invasion. War is not arithmetic. A highly important consideration is that by operating from the East and West the Allies will acquire all the advantages of a converging attack. The efforts directed from the periphery to the center will tend to bring groups which began action from different quarters closer and closer together. On the other hand, these efforts will have an effect not only on the sectors of the front against which they are aimed, but also on others which are in a rear relation to the former, and will also compel the enemy to dissipate his strategical reserves.

Clausewitz, analyzing a situation of this kind, wrote: "It may thus be considered established that converging operations possess the advantage that action aimed at 'A' is at once reflected at 'B' without losing any of its force in relation to 'A,' and that action aimed at 'B' is at once reflected at 'A,' so that together they constitute not merely 'A' plus 'B,' but something bigger, and that this gain is obtained both in tactics and in strategy. . . ."

It is precisely such possibilities which are now opening up for the armed forces of the anti-Hitler coalition. The development of offensive operations both in the East and West implies under present conditions the invasion of territory vital to the Germans, which they cannot afford to forfeit without a fight, for it would incur the risk of a drastic deterioration of their position. The Germans will be compelled to fight under unfavorable conditions against the armed forces of the Allies, many times superior to them in strength, until the inevitable moment comes when, under the blows from East and West, the German army will lose its capacity of resistance and will be crushed.

The leaders of Hitler Germany

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cannot but realize that in the fight with the combined forces of the freedom-loving countries the German-fascist army is no longer in a condition to achieve victory. They are aware they cannot change the course of the war in their favor. The victory strategy is a strategy of the past as far as Germany is concerned. The German command now is not occupied with the idea of victory, but with the problem of how to protect Germany from complete defeat, how to save fascism and its armed forces. The only strategical conception entertained by the Germans now is to muster all the forces and means at their disposal, to postpone the moment when the Allies begin their coordinated operations, to drag out the war and to prevent an early issue.

It is perfectly obvious that Germany, with the military forces and means at her disposal, can only delay but not prevent her defeat. The crisis of Hitler's strategy is beyond solution. In view of this, the Hitlerites are resorting to all sorts of tricks and dodges. The German press and radio suddenly began advertising loudly a new plan supposedly adopted by the German command: it is to mass large forces in the West at the cost of weakening Germany's position in the East, to demolish British and American troops landed on the Continent, and then to turn all their forces against the Red Army.

The purpose of this clumsy dodge is obvious. On the one hand, the Hitlerites are trying, as it were, to justify their defeats on the Soviet-German front on the grounds that their forces have been diverted to the West. By stressing the danger of the Anglo-American invasion, they are trying to weaken the impression caused by the real danger threatening from the East. On the other hand, by spreading rumors to the effect that they are massing big forces in the West, they want to create a false impression that their positions in Western Europe are secure.

Such fables of course cannot alter the developments of operations on the Soviet-German front in Germany's favor, nor prevent the carrying out of our decision at the Teheran Conference to vanquish Hitler Germany. The absurdity of this "strategical plan" of Germany is only too obvious. Is it not clear that the Germans dare not weaken their forces on the Soviet-German front by transferring part of their troops to the West? The initiative on the Soviet-German front is in the hands of the Soviet Command, and it is the latter, not the Germans, which is determining the course of operations there. Even if the German command wanted to divert part of its divisions to the West, it could not do so without risking complete disaster.

Consequently, only people who are anxious for definite purposes to exaggerate Germany's strength in the West can give currency to the gross fabrications of German propaganda. This applies, in the first place, to overt and covert accomplices of the enemy who are now endeavoring to deceive the public of the Allied countries and are doing their utmost to postpone the in-

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vasion and thus afford Hitler Germany the respite she so badly needs. To these circles, of course, belongs the representative of the Hearst International News Service who recently declared that the Germans are persistently diverting their forces to the West, notwithstanding the Red Army's increasing assault. Desiring still more strongly to stress the Germans' alleged growing strength in the West, this agency spared no colors in painting the high qualities of these troops. We are told they are "the finest, most splendidly trained, picked guards divisions."

Of course, these assertions of the Germans and their accomplices are so absurd they are scarcely likely to deceive anyone. The British Minister of Information stated on May 3 [Note—Retranslation from the Russian]: "The information spread in Germany, by means of which the Germans are trying to justify their defeats in Russia on the grounds that considerable forces have been diverted to the West, does not accord with the facts. However, a number of divisions destroyed on the Eastern Front have been reformed in the West under the same names. It is also known that a number of divisions, including the Ninth and Tenth Panzer Divisions, have been transferred from France to Russia."

The fact that the Germans passed to the defensive—in other words, have renounced the fundamental dogma of their strategy, is the clearest proof of the hopelessness of Germany's position. What can Berlin's bankrupt strategists reckon on when the British and American invasion of Europe is inevitable, and when in a war on two fronts Germany has not the least chance of putting up a prolonged resistance. To judge by Germany's press, the Hitlerites have another variant of their "strategical plan." On the basis of the experience of the hostilities in Italy, the Germans hope that in Western Europe too they will be able to stem the Allies' offensive operations, and having lured them into the *cul-de-sac* of positional warfare, protract the war and gain time "for a peace offensive." Realizing that they have no chances for victory, the Germans are cherishing the hope of obtaining a compromise peace which would give them the opportunity, after a certain lapse of time, to start a new world war.

It is, however, surprising that certain press organs in the Allied countries, ostensibly on the authority of official circles, represent the expected invasion of Europe as likely to be a long process of marking time, and not as a vigorous operation carried out at high speed with the help of large forces designed to achieve success as early as possible.

Need it be shown that such assertions, ostensibly based on official authority, are, to say the least, false? The decision at the Teheran Conference speaks quite clearly of a relentless and increasing attack from the East and West. Hence, what is had in mind is not to form a new bridgehead on the European coast similar to Anzio and Nettuno, nor new stationary sections of

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fronts similar to Cassino, calculated for protracted war, where for months hostilities were confined to affairs of patrols and bomber attacks.

Incidentally, it is precisely the experience at Cassino which shows quite clearly that the success of operations depends not so much on the weight of bombs dropped as upon the activity of land forces. There is no reason to doubt that the Allied Command has drawn the lessons from the earlier operations of the British and American forces, and will be able by relentless and increasing attack on Hitler's "European fortress" to carry out the decisions of the Teheran Conference and thus foil the enemy's last hopes, which are based on protracting the war.

The German-fascists' fantastic plans designed to frighten people with weak nerves are doomed to failure. That the defeat of Hitler Germany is inevitable is becoming clearer and clearer.

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THAT AMERICANS MAY THINK TOGETHER, ACT TOGETHER

(Concluding Remarks at the Closing Session of the National Convention of the Communist Political Association, May 22, 1944)

BY EARL BROWDER

FELLOW Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We have had a fruitful Convention. We have met in one of the most critical moments in the history of our country and of the world. We have faced unprecedented problems. We have avoided every temptation to fall into the pattern of copying the answers from the past; we have worked out new policies to meet an entirely new and unprecedented moment in our history.

We have not, however, cut ourselves off from the past. It is only the work and the thinking of the past that have armed us with the sure knowledge of the direction in which we must march in the present and in the future. We are people who have the greatest appreciation of the enormous work that has been done for human progress by the generations that have preceded us. We know that we are able to march forward into the future only because we have been lifted on the shoulders of the millions of heroes of the past who gave deep meaning to the words *liberty* and *progress*. We know that we are able to think clearly about the problems of today only because we sat humbly at the feet of giant figures of the past and thankfully learned from them. And we know that if what we have in the world today is important for future generations, it is only because from the great minds of the past we learned the continuity of the historical process. There may be setbacks, but there is progress. There is a continuous chain of cause and effect which can be studied scientifically. And the pure rays of the lamp of science can be thrown upon the present and the future.

We have learned how to be strong and bold as the spokesmen and fighters for this great current of human progress. It is a current that leads to an ever greater freedom, an ever greater mastery of nature, a greater mastery over the

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social problems of mankind. We have also learned the necessity to be modest in our personalities. This leads us to understand that no man or woman attains greatness in his own right. He gains it only to the degree that he can give service to this great historic movement of humanity and freedom.

We think—I believe all of us think this Convention has given us a sure direction in the struggle. We can have confidence in this direction. We can be sure that the Convention has put solid ground under our feet as we go out to do battle against all of the enemies of human progress. We are sure that this Convention has laid the foundations for a much broader, deeper, closer, more confident collaboration, a more harmonious co-working between ourselves and our many allies in this country, who comprise the great majority of the American people. We can be sure that this Convention has armed us to be effective workers and fighters for closer consolidation of the great Anglo - Soviet - American alliance which leads the United Nations. The united leadership of this alliance gives the only hope that exists in the world for the crystallization of a real family of free, democratic nations everywhere on this earth.

It is true, we have not satisfied everyone. Many people will express dissatisfaction with our Convention. But I think it will be found that everyone who gives a negative verdict upon our Convention will either be thinking about it in a way entirely dissociated from our nation's task today—that is, he will be thinking in terms of his own special ideological pre-disposition, his prejudices or his special interests—or else he will be tainted with a lack of enthusiasm for the completion of our nation's tasks in this war. That is so because no one who places the victory of our nation and its allies in this war as the first consideration can possibly have any other thought than that of accepting gladly the contributions that this Convention has made to our nation and to the Allied war effort.

Still, some people are dissatisfied, people who generally must be classed as patriotic and as wishing to win the war. We had, for example, this morning, in the eminent *New York Herald Tribune,* an editorial judgment upon our Convention of a flatly negative character. The *Herald Tribune* seems to be overwhelmed by the fact that there are still Communists in America, and *organized* Communists, even after the Communist Party is dissolved. The *Herald Tribune* a year ago editorially demanded that the Communist Party should dissolve. At that time I addressed a letter to them publicly, which they printed, in which I challenged their conclusions but offered to debate the question with them. They refused to discuss the question. We proceeded to debate it on our own and we came to the conclusion that the *Herald Tribune* had been correct in recommending that the Communist Party be dissolved. [*Laughter*] And with different motives, and following a different line of reasoning, we came to the same conclusion today that they expressed a year ago.

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Instead of being happy that they had converted us to their point of view, the *Herald Tribune* this morning expressed the greatest concern: some serious danger threatens our country; the Communists have taken an action which the *Herald Tribune* recommended one year ago!

We had the same experience in connection with some of the old leading figures of the New York State American Labor Party, now the leading figures of the new ambitious project called the Liberal Party. Two professors, in fact doctors of philosophy, and therefore men with a lifetime of training in the laws of logic and the rigors of the pure intellectual processes—Dr. Counts and Dr. Childs—wrote a whole book, and published it, to prove that the Communist Party could make only one contribution to America, and that is, to dissolve itself. And yet, when the Communist Party took the matter up in a practical fashion and proceeded to move in the direction of doing precisely that which the two eminent doctors of philosophy had proved in a learned thesis, published in hard covers, was necessary, the two learned doctors of philosophy immediately forgot their book. They have not mentioned it in six months, and I understand it has been withdrawn from sale. We have no public explanation as to why they changed their minds, but Dr. Counts and Dr. Childs, the eminent professors, not only stand now before the world as the great champions of the right of the Communists to have their own party, but they insist that the Communists must have their own party whether they want it or not.

Well, as I said, we cannot satisfy everybody, because the moment we try to satisfy some people and accept their proposals we find they change their minds. As a matter of fact, such people we never try to satisfy.

The only people we are really concerned with and profoundly anxious to satisfy, are those we want to convince that, though our ideas may differ somewhat from theirs, we have the same interests. They are the people we want to convince that they and we have to fight shoulder to shoulder together for these interests. We want to convince them that the very fact that we think in certain respects differently from them may make our cooperation with them even more valuable than if we were simple yes-men cooperating. The people that we really want to convince are the great mass of the American people, the alert and intelligent workers, as well as the farmers, of America, the business and professional people who are honestly trying to think through the problems of today and who are earnestly attached to the welfare of their country as their first consideration. Yes, we want even to convince that large number and great body of professors and doctors of philosophy who are badly represented by Dr. Counts and Dr. Childs. We want to convince the capitalists of America that we are serious and earnest in our proposals for a national unity broad enough to include capital and

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labor. We want to convince every honest man and woman who understands the great crisis through which our country and the world is now living, the greatest crisis of all history, that Americans must learn how to think together, how to act together and how to unite in a new way in order that this world crisis shall not represent a setback for our country and for human progress. We want to guarantee that this great ordeal of fire—these great sacrifices that our country must make together with the other peoples of the world to emerge from this crisis—will not be the inevitable forerunner of another world crisis. We want to make sure that the price we pay for the solution of this crisis shall bring us onto a new great field of human progress for our country and the world; and that as a result of victory in this war we shall have plowed up the seeds of future wars and humanity shall be organized for peace for generations to come. We want to guarantee that the achievement of well-being and democracy for all within our own country shall not proceed through crisis after crisis and struggle after struggle, but will be the product of intelligent collaboration of all intelligent men in America.

We think this is a realistic program. We are going to fight for it; we are going to welcome the collaboration of men and women from every circle and all strata of the American population toward this end. We are going to guarantee that if this goal is not achieved, it shall be clear to the world where the responsibility lies—clear that it does not lie upon the Communists or upon those who sympathize or work with the Communists, but precisely upon those who have tried to make the word "Communist" synonymous with the enemies of America at the very moment in history when Communists throughout the rest of the world have proved the most reliable allies of America in the greatest crisis our country has ever gone through.

We are convinced that the forces of democracy and progress and intelligence in America are sufficiently strong to guarantee the ultimate triumph of the policy put forth by this Convention.

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FOR VICTORY IN THE WAR AND THE ELECTIONS

(Report of the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee of the National Convention of the Communist Political Association, May 20, 1944. Abridged text.)

BY EUGENE DENNIS

THE Committee on Officers' Reports and Resolutions fully endorses Earl Browder's keynote address, and at this time wishes to place before the Convention the main political resolution based on his report.

Our committee unanimously recommends that the delegates approve this resolution. In this, we affirm the united opinion of our membership and all state organizations as expressed in the pre-Convention discussion. In so doing we pay tribute to the political maturity and the oneness of our Communist movement which, on the eve of its twenty-fifth anniversary, evidences a unity of thought and purpose uncommon in American political life —a unity that is a great source of strength to our national war effort.

In behalf of our committee I should like to comment now on some of the chief points outlined in the resolution, as well as on a number of amendments that have been proposed. Time does not permit reference to many valuable recommendations that have been submitted to the Resolutions Committee—but for the information of the delegates these proposals have been incorporated in supplementary resolutions that will be brought before the Convention.

In relation to Section 1 of the resolution, several delegates have recommended placing greater emphasis on what they term the "early collapse of Hitlerism." Your committee does not believe that this is the most accurate way to place the question. Moreover, we consider that to place the question this way might tend to engender moods of complacency and false optimism.

For what is the real state of affairs regarding the European theater of the war? As we correctly stress in the resolution, the war against Hitlerite Germany and its satellites is entering a new phase. The historic role of the Soviet Union and the greatness of its Red Army, together with the mounting military efforts of our country and Britain, as well as the heroic struggles of the partisans in the Nazi-occupied countries, have tremendously weakened Hitlerite Germany and its satellites, have shaken German imperialism to its foundations, and have created the conditions for

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hastening the victorious conclusion of the war.

With the invasion of Western Europe, the United Nations now enter the final and most decisive stage of the military struggle against the Hitlerites. Victory can be won relatively soon; but it will not come easily or automatically. It will not come solely as a consequence of the magnificent efforts of our invincible Soviet ally. Nor will it come magic-like on the wings of our gallant airmen. Victory requires the smashing of the main armed forces of the fascist enemy on the Continent of Europe. It requires the coordinated and sustained might of simultaneous, powerful, military offensives from the West and South, together with those from the East, such as are now being launched.

Your committee also had before it for consideration a proposal to incorporate in the resolution the slogan "Victory over Hitlerism in 1944." In our judgment it is possible to bring about the defeat of Hitlerite Germany in 1944 through the maximum concerted military actions of America, Britain and the U.S.S.R. However, we deem it inadvisable at this moment to *sloganize* this perspective and possibility. For this might tend to obscure the enormous tasks ahead to mobilize our country for the unprecedented and gigantic battles which still have to be fought and won, especially to secure a total war effort decisively to carry through the Allied invasion of Europe.

But, in rejecting the proposed amendment, it is clear that we do not reject the intent and aim embodied in the slogan. On the contrary, we consider it necessary to make clear before the nation that the chief and fundamental political-military question now confronting the United Nations is to seize on the present opportunity to complete the invasion of Europe, to reduce the length of the war and speed victory. And this means now everything to re-inforce and ensure the most rapid success of the Allied blows against Nazi Germany from the West, East, and South.

In this connection we wish to emphasize that it is incumbent upon all patriotic forces to continue to unmask and isolate the cautious calculators who counsel that the scope of the Second Front should be limited. For these forces would prolong the war and make it more costly. They endanger victory and bring grist to the mill of the appeasers who are working for a compromise peace with the Nazis and their Japanese confederates.

Moreover, it is essential to put the nation on guard against the reckless and subversive policies of the defeatists and their fifth column. For now, on the eve of the most decisive military battles and the final phase of the national election campaign, these treacherous forces are increasing their activity. They are trying to undermine the position of our Commander-in-Chief. They are renewing their slanders and attacks upon our Allies. They are instituting strike provocations. They are fomenting class hatred, as well as religious and nationality antagon-

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isms. And they are preparing to seize upon the difficulties and heavy casualties resulting from the opening of the Second Front in order to try and create moods of panic, distrust and defeatism. These pro-fascist forces must be unmasked and crushed now, before it is too late.

Finally, we believe that one of the soundest, most effective and constructive ways to raise the question and to facilitate the earliest victory over Hitlerism is to place clearly before the American people *the all-decisive* question of ensuring the most rapid fulfillment of the military and practical agreements of Teheran. For the essence of Teheran, the core of its historic accords, lies in welding the firmest unity of action of the American-Soviet-British coalition, especially now in the development of full coalition warfare on the European continent. It is precisely this phase of Teheran which is now being unfolded and must be resolutely supported, and upon which the edifice of an enduring peace and a united family of freedom-loving nations can and will be constructed.

* * *

Among the proposed amendments, it has been suggested that we indicate more clearly in the resolution the role of American leadership in helping win the war and in solving the problems of the peace. Your committee is in agreement with this proposal and has endeavored to incorporate this idea at the end of Section 2 of the resolution.

We, of course, are opposed to the concept of American leadership as advanced by a Henry Luce, a Herbert Hoover, or a Lammot du Pont. For we do not conceive American leadership as American domination or rule over the world or over subject nations.

However, we Communists have always advocated America's democratic leadership and initiative in international affairs. This is why, for instance, we consistently fought over the years for America's leading participation in a system of collective security to quarantine the aggressors, to stop fascism and war. This, too, is why we have steadfastly advocated since the beginning of this people's war of national liberation that the U.S.A. should take the leadership in developing a close and long-range alliance with the Soviet Union and the other United Nations to achieve victory and establish a durable peace. This is why we are proud of the initiative and the great contributions of President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull in helping bring to fruition the Moscow and Teheran conferences and accords. For, in our opinion, the fulfillment of the agreement of Teheran will, among other things, enable America to play a leading and decisive role in the world, to assure its progressive destiny.

Of course, there are some persons like Messrs. Hearst and McCormick who allege that the international commitments entered into at Teheran by our President and Commander-in-Chief constitute a forfeiture of American sovereignty and national interests, a "surrender to Moscow and Downing Street." There are others who claim that the accords of Teheran, as well as

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of Moscow, signify the resurrection of "power politics," of a big stick wielded by the "Big Three." And there are other gentlemen akin to these, like Mr. Dewey, who choose to veil their hostility to Teheran by evasion and silence.

Suffice it to state briefly that the agreement of Teheran does not represent the sole interests of any single country, but the common interests of America, Britain and the Soviet Union, and all other freedom-loving peoples. Moreover, it is only by the fullest democratic participation and influence of labor and the people in the affairs of our nation, and by resolutely pursuing the policy of Teheran—of firmer alliance with the Soviet Union and Britain—that America will be able to contribute its full part in expediting victory and in effecting a lasting peace. It is only in this manner that America can play a leading role in shaping the democratic future of mankind, help solve the acute problems of post-war reconstruction, and aid the expansion of world trade and economic prosperity.

Further, it is only by a policy of amity and cooperation of the two most powerful nations in the world, of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., that America's leading position in the world can be advanced, that her political and economic ties and influence can be enhanced. Contrariwise the policy of the Hearsts and McCormicks, of the anti-Teheran and Munichite forces, of the advocates of chauvinistic and imperialistic "nationalism," would isolate and weaken America, would surround us with enemies instead of friends, would create economic chaos and instability, and would embroil us in wars and internal strife.

As for the cry that Teheran ushers in power politics, the following should be stated. In "power politics," as the term is traditionally used, a state or combination of states employs force or the threat of force in international relations for self-aggrandizement at the expense of other nations and peoples. It is a policy bound up with imperialist domination, rivalries and blocs, with imperialist oppression and exploitation, with the pressure and rule of big nations over smaller or weaker ones.

However, the policy of Teheran is the antithesis of "power politics." It pursues democratic objectives. It is directed toward the destruction of world fascism and tyranny, the creation of a family of free and independent nations, and the securing of a just and durable peace.

Of course, Teheran does signify power: the power of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, the joint power of the United Nations to crush Hitlerism and the Axis. This power is harnessed to policy, to the policy of democratic aims and the alliance of the liberty-loving nations.

The power of Teheran, of course, is the denial of power to the forces of fascism, of aggression, of appeasement. For it is power in the service of the peoples. It is power in the furtherance of the war effort of America and all the United Nations, of our national security and a peaceful future. This is

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why we sharply raise in the resolution the need of guaranteeing the timely and sustained implementation of the Teheran decisions.

* * *

The next main point stressed in Earl Browder's report and in the principal resolution, a central question that is indispensable for every policy and tactic which we project, is the supreme urgency to reinforce national unity during the war *and* the elections, and to extend and consolidate this unity after the war to cope with the problems of reconstruction and the maintenance of a lasting peace.

A few comments are here in place regarding certain aspects of our election policy. Undoubtedly, one of the severest tests of our national unity will take place in the next months, during the final period of the crucial Presidential and Congressional election campaigns. For this will coincide with the heaviest fighting on the military fronts. This too will materialize amidst the most desperate efforts of the appeasers and defeatists to seize the reins of governmental power and to steer America onto the path of a "soft" peace, a negotiated peace with the Hitlerites and the Mikado.

Precisely now voices are being raised, even within the labor movement, advocating that labor and the other win-the-war forces should abandon an electoral policy of national unity, of non-partisanship—a policy of unity which is so essential to influence the most effective prosecution of the war, as well as victory in the elections.

Thus, some progressives reason as follows: since Hoover's candidate Dewey is the most likely Republican Presidential nominee, and since on a national scale the pro-fascists are operating on the electoral field primarily through the Republican Party; and, on the other hand, since President Roosevelt is the non-partisan candidate of the majority of the American people—that, therefore, in view of all this, labor should assert itself not only in more active support of Roosevelt, but also more directly in behalf of the Democratic Party as a whole.

On the surface this might seem plausible, especially since in most states and Congressional districts the majority of candidates who are the best supporters of Roosevelt and the nation's war policy are participating in the elections as candidates of the Democratic Party. Yet, a deeper analysis of political events and alignments will show that all factors, including the outcome of the primaries, require that labor and the people pursue a resolute course of anti-fascist national unity now and throughout the elections, as well as after the war.

Insofar as the elections are concerned, suffice it to re-emphasize that the war is not yet won, that all patriotic forces, irrespective of party affiliation, need to be unified to assure victory in the elections and the successful conclusion of the war. But a partisan election approach would divide, not unify, the nation. It would militate against the re-election of President Roosevelt. It would play into the hands of Berlin and Tokyo, which are counting upon and working for an anti-

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Administration and defeatist outcome in the election.

Secondly, it should be noted that the results of all the primaries reveal that both the Democratic and the Republican Parties received in most cases a minority vote in comparison with the total registered electorate; that only a non-partisan, win-the-war policy can enlist the active support of the independent voters, as well as an influential section of the Republican adherents; and that, whereas the majority of the Republican candidates are aligned with the reactionary Hoover - Dewey - Taft - Vandenberg forces, some twenty million patriotic American citizens traditionally vote for or support the candidates of the Republican Party.

Further, only a policy of national unity, of genuine non-partisanship in support of the President and the Government's war program, can unite and mobilize the bulk of labor, organized and unorganized. Only such a policy can make labor's growing independent political strength fully effective and decisive. For only a policy of national unity for victory could enable the labor movement to develop such an effective nationwide crusade as it has organized for the Fourth Term. Only such a policy could enable the people to defeat or eliminate such reactionary anti-Roosevelt candidates as Dies, Starnes, Holman and Costello, or can bring about the defeat of a Fish or Nye, as well as the re-election of a Marcantonio. Only such a policy can really prepare the way for the re-election of the President and the election of a new Congress, unlike the present obstructionist Congress dominated by Republicans and Bourbons which was elected in 1942 to the detriment of the nation at war.

It is clear that only a policy of national unity in the elections can and will succeed in influencing all forces, from the most progressive to the conservatives, to rise above partisan considerations and support the continuation of the anti-Axis leadership of our President and Commander-in-Chief, as well as bring about the election of a coalition Congress pledged to victory.

By a policy of national unity and non-partisanship in the elections we mean concretely this: the organization of the most extensive unity of action of all patriotic Americans around President Roosevelt. We mean opposition to, not neutrality toward, any candidate running against the Commander-in-Chief. We mean, further, the concerted action of all patriots to eliminate from public life the obstructionists and defeatists of whatever party label, and to elect a Congress and state legislatures dedicated to victory over fascism, and representative of the democratic majority of the people.

In line with this, it is necessary, among other things, to scuttle and defeat the so-called Third Party movements such as have been initiated in Michigan and Illinois by the Trotskyites and the anti-war Social-Democrats, as well as the divisive Fourth Party movement of Dubinsky in New York. For these movements, which parade under the guise of independent labor and lib-

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eral political action, are in reality reactionary political diversions designed to divide the camp of national unity and to hamstring labor's full contribution to the war and victory in the elections.

In combating these bogus and disruptive Third Party movements which are being organized in the present election campaign as instruments of opposition to the war, to Roosevelt, and to the great C.I.O. Political Action movement, we, of course, do not set ourselves against third parties in principle. We Communists understand that today, under wartime conditions, a policy of electoral non-partisanship, of judging men and issues on their merits instead of by party labels, is decisive for pursuing an intelligent and effective policy of national unity in these fateful elections. We recognize that labor's independent political role in this election campaign can be advanced only along the path of labor's unity, through its independent and many-sided organization and activity, and in cooperation with all other patriotic forces through the electoral medium of the established two-party system.

However, we Communists also recognize that the American two-party system and the alignments within and around the major parties are changing. We understand that today the Democratic and Republican Parties represent various coalitions and groupings—some pro-war and some anti-war, some pro-fascist and others anti-fascist. We know that after the 1944 elections the organized political movement of labor, of the Negro people and of other democratic forces which are now operating through the existing two-party system—primarily today through the channels of the Democratic Party—may initiate or undergo still further changes.

But whatever form political realignments may take after the 1944 elections—whether primarily through an existing party or through the organization of a third political party, as a major party in the country—its main base and leadership will come from the working class and popular forces, in alliance with all win-the-war forces in both major parties; and it will represent, under new conditions, the main patriotic forces of national unity which are now functioning through the two-party system. In other words, a new party alignment should and must represent the decisive majority of the people and not a small and isolated minority.

Be this as it may, it is clear that now as never before victory in the elections, the re-election of the President and the election of a Congress which will support the government's victory program, will require not only the greatest clarification of all win-the-war issues, but likewise the further unity and independent mobilization of the people, especially of labor, A. F. of L. as well as C.I.O. It will necessitate the maximum mass registration of all voters, including guarantees for providing the opportunity to vote for all servicemen. It will require the continued organization of varied independent, non-partisan, political organizations and movements of the

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workers, the farmers, the city middle classes, the Negro people, the youth, as well as of the wives, parents and sweethearts of the servicemen.

But this can be effectively achieved only on the basis of the broadest unity of action of all patriotic forces regardless of class and party affiliation, in support of the President and the nation's war policy, in support of a resolute win-the-war Congress, in behalf of the objectives of Teheran and the concrete immediate demands of the people.

* * *

A most important factor in determining the course of national unity now and in the period after the war, as Browder has stressed, is the approach to the internal problems of reconversion and our post-war economy as a whole. For without concrete measures undertaken *now* to implement the Economic Bill of Rights proposed by the President, without achieving approximate full production, employment and adequate social security for all —national unity would be adversely affected now, while after the war it would be undermined and short-lived, and our country would face grave dangers.

In this connection, a few words might be appropriate regarding our general outlook and approach to the problems of our domestic post-war economy in the light of present social conditions. To begin with, we Communists who believe that a socialist society will provide the only final solution to the problems of unemployment, exploitation, aggression and war, consider that a sound post-war policy for America depends upon the realization of the Teheran program and its favorable economic perspectives. It depends upon achieving the greatest unity of the United Nations, especially of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain; and likewise upon forging solid national unity within our country toward this end. It depends upon recognizing the fact that while the majority of the American people are not yet ready to support the establishment of socialism—of a workers' state and the common ownership of the means of production—they are ready and willing to work and struggle for the right of full job and social security for all Americans.

Our policy for approximating full production and employment in the United States in the post-war period under existing conditions of private enterprise is *twofold.* It embraces full opportunity and incentives to industry to reconvert and expand, *as well as* the responsibility of private industry to substantially raise the purchasing power of the people.

It involves the protection of property rights, of capital investment and returns, *as well as* assurances to safeguard the property and human rights of the workers and veterans against insecurity, a low standard of living and dispossession of their homes, *as well as* protection for the farmers, tenants and share-croppers against foreclosures and evictions.

It includes the right of private enterprise to develop its productive capacity and to plan for and cope

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with the problems of reconversion and a flourishing peacetime economy, *as well as* the right of labor and all democratic forces to organize, to bargain collectively, and to exercise freely the Bill of Rights.

It entails the obligation of government to plan jointly with industry for foreign markets, to underwrite foreign credits and loans, *and* at the same time to provide Federal aid to solve emergency problems of economic dislocations, hazards and unemployment.

Moreover, our immediate post-war policy toward the monopolies, which also is guided by considerations of national unity, is *twofold*. We favor full opportunity for finance capital to function and engage in interstate and foreign commerce, trade and the export of capital. *At the same time,* we insist that the monopolies shall comply with the laws of the land and that they shall adhere to the accords of Moscow, Cairo and Teheran. And we advocate the curbing of those monopolies and cartels whose policies and practices contravene and undermine our national interests and world security.

* * *

In the resolution we have correctly declared that Teheran marks an epochal turning point in world history. But we also realize that the mere adoption of the decisions and policies of Teheran is not in itself sufficient. These accords must yet be fully realized.

That is why in Earl Browder's report and in the resolution, we stress the key political role of labor and all other popular forces. This is why we emphasize that the democratic intervention of the masses, particularly of the trade union movement and of our own Communist organization, is so essential for success in the elections, is so vital to strengthen the anti-fascist unity of the nation now and after the war.

The forms of national unity and the relationship of forces within the camp of national unity are constantly undergoing changes and modifications. But the goals of national unity today and for the immediate post-war period are and will remain clear and definite. For the coalition of forces composing our national unity is brought together and cooperates to win victory over Hitlerism, to secure the democratic aims of Teheran. This opens the way to forge united action in the post-war stage to promote full production and employment, social security and democratic progress.

Whatever changes may take place within the camp of national unity on the morrow, the class content of national unity will remain essentially the same after the war as today, though the role of the working class and other democratic forces should and must be strengthened. For vital objective factors which already have brought together patriots from all classes, from the working class to the win-the-war sections of big capital, will operate after the war: namely, the collective need of the free nations to prevent the recurrence of fascism and war, and the necessity to ensure the national security and democratic wel-

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fare of our country and people.

This does not mean, of course, that national unity will be strengthened automatically, that it can be left to chance. Nor does it mean that there will not be strains and difficulties in consolidating national unity in the final stage of the war and after, such as during the difficult period of reconversion.

To complete successfully the Anglo-American invasion of Europe and to bring the war to a victorious conclusion—as well as to achieve victory in the elections—a stubborn and resolute effort will be required to rally the nation ever more firmly around and in support of our Commander-in-Chief and the Declaration of Teheran. Toward this end, labor and all other anti-fascists, including the Communists, have a key and indispensable role to perform in order further to unify, organize and guide the American working people and all other win-the-war forces, especially on the fronts of war production and in united, progressive political action.

This is why the unity of all anti-fascists is so crucial. For without the joint action and solid cooperation of all anti-fascists, of Communists and non-Communists, national unity will be unstable and weakened. On the other hand, the initiative and unity of the working class and its Communist vanguard, acting in concert with all other patriotic forces, can and will help unify the nation to guarantee a favorable outcome of the elections, to shorten the war, destroy fascism, and secure a stable peace and orderly social progress.

* * *

With these remarks, I conclude the report of your committee on the main resolution.

Your committee ventures the opinion that Earl Browder's report and the resolutions based thereon will meet with the hearty approval of the delegates. For today, as never before, as our rich and creative pre-Convention discussion has demonstrated, our Communist organization is solidly united on all issues of program and policy.

We have a common point of view born of common experiences and devotion to the welfare of our country and people, and enriched by our Marxist science and understanding. We have supreme confidence in our national leadership, headed by Earl Browder. And we take great pride in the fact that at this decisive point in world history we have forged a unity and program of action based on the interests of our nation and people—one which will strengthen the Allied invasion and our national war effort and will help implement the epochal decisions of Teheran.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Report to the National Convention of the Communist Political Association by Robert Minor on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Communist Party will be published shortly in pamphlet form.

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THE ROLE OF THE CLUB IN THE COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION

BY JOHN WILLIAMSON

[*This article is the second and concluding instalment of the Report by John Williamson to the National Convention of the Communist Political Association, May 21, 1944, the first instalment of which appeared in the June issue under the title "Perspectives on the Functioning of the Communist Political Association." The Editors.*]

FELLOW DELEGATES:

Earl Browder's inspiring report, which set forth the character of the Communist Political Association, has laid the basis for discussing the specific organization-educational features of the Association's work. A thorough understanding of these features is vital to the translation of the discussion and decisions of this Convention into living practice.

As the basic organizational unit of the Association, we have the Club. The Club takes on increasing importance and must, in its own scope of activity, acquire political authority and competent leadership. We must at the outset guard against the narrow conception of the Club as limited exclusively to community problems; rather, we must see it, in the broadest sense of the term, as a political club concerning itself with problems of labor and the nation among the people of the community.

Let us examine specifically the relation of the individual Communist to the Club. No longer can there exist even the remnants of the artificial division of Communist work "versus" mass work. Effective Communist work means primarily work in mass organizations, whether trade unions, political parties or action committees, fraternal or community activities. The quality of the contribution of the Communists as members of these mass organizations will depend on whether they have intimate political connections with the Association Club. From the Association they expect and will derive that which no other organization can give them and which they keenly desire—namely, Marxist understanding for contributing to the formulation and execution of the needed everyday policies.

In the past, inadequacy of this necessary political guidance has been the major weakness of the Club. From now on, with our mem-

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bers branching out into far more varied activities and organizations, it is clear that they will not have time for the same kind of Communist Club activities as heretofore. The Club, accordingly, must change the character of its activity. Its primary task is to provide clarity on all issues by promoting among its members Marxist-Leninist understanding and thus equipping them for more effective work and leadership in all spheres of activity—in the shop, trade union, political party, or community organization. This guidance should be provided through rich political discussions in the Club, through the discussions and functioning of Club activity committees, and the effective individual work of the Club membership committee. It will especially be furthered by the regular reading of the *Daily Worker, The Communist*, the Club paper, and other literature. The effectiveness of the individual Communist will be increased to the extent that every Club establishes a close and comradely political relationship with the individual member.

How will our Association members work in trade unions and other mass organizations? Communists will work in a democratic manner in all organizations and movements, with all other honest, patriotic forces in behalf of issues in the interest of labor and the nation. They will work without any special discipline or organization and, as always, will subordinate themselves to decisions democratically arrived at. Experience has demonstrated to millions of Americans that Communists, because of their Marxist understanding, are devoted to labor and the nation, in the day-to-day political and organizational activities, small or large.

It is our responsibility to see that our Communist trade unionists derive from the life and activities of the Club and from the *Daily Worker* adequate guidance on all general questions that confront the labor movement. In addition to discussing general subjects affecting the labor movement, the Club can organize special educational meetings of members concerned with a specific industry and its problems. The Club leadership should strive to become acquainted with the specific problems confronting the unions. It should provide Communist trade union members with all important articles and pamphlets on issues and problems confronting the labor movement, so that the Club members can keep abreast of new developments. The Club shall encourage all members who are eligible, to join and become active in a union.

The State or County President should strive to know the main problems confronting the labor movement, as well as the problems of all other sections of the population. In large districts consideration should be given to selecting one of the most politically competent leaders as the *Daily Worker* Labor Editor, in order to establish a close and normal connection between the *Daily Worker* and the local labor movement.

Wherever the individual Communist is active, his work will be com-

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plete only when, in the course of mass work, he wins readers for the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*, distributes or sells literature, discusses with his co-workers the policies of the Communists, and recruits into the Association.

* * *

Now, let us examine the relationship between the Association Club and the community. If we were to function as in the past, we would face many difficulties. By reacting alertly to issues and boldly popularizing our position on developments, we shall avoid any activities that would compete with the general progressive mass movement of the community. For instance, instead of resting satisfied with selecting its own delegation to visit the local Congressman on an issue such as the soldiers' vote, the Club will undoubtedly issue its own statement on the problem and seek to influence other community organizations to send a representative delegation which will include, preferably, a representative of the Communist Club. In other words, we will gladly relinquish formal auspices, in the interests of welding together large sections of the population. However, it is important for the Club to realize that often there will be no such delegations unless it is alert and takes initiative in such matters.

In rendering full support to progressive activities or in extending initiative to community movements, the Communist Club should strive to become an officially accepted component of all such mass movements. The Club should contribute its maximum efforts to these movements both through its collective activities, and through the work of individual Communists belonging to community mass organizations.

Of course, this does not mean that the Club should on no account conduct its own independent mass activity. There may be instances when other mass organizations or movements remain inactive with regard to certain specific issues or deal with them inadequately. The Communist Club in such cases should, naturally, develop its own activiites.

In our relations with other community organizations which are part of the win-the-war coalition, the Communist Club emphasizes work *with* them and *not through* them. Thus, a member of the Communist Association who is selected to run as candidate on one or another political party ticket, whether for a major or minor office, puts forward his candidacy as a member of that particular party, and not as a member of the Communist Association. However, in a normal and natural way, it should be the definite orientation of the Communists in other political organizations to be known as members of the Communist Association. For, precisely that membership equips them to be among the most far-sighted and sensitive in regard to issues and enables them to develop mass activity and organization. Their candidacy for political office is comparable to the nomination of Communists for office in a trade union. Such nomination is based on their

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record in the union in behalf of the workers and the union. True, many Communists get elected by their union membership because it has learned from experience that the candidate who is a Communist has particularly good qualifications, by virtue of the understanding he derives from being a member of the Communist organization.

The emphasis on political initiative of the member and the Club clearly makes necessary more effective political-educational work, in which the following are prerequisites:

(1) The entire Association must solve the problem of circulating the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*. The carrying through of the tasks of the Association is bound up with a decisive and rapid increase in the circulation and influence of these papers.

(2) The Communist political-educational work, both among our own members and the people at large, must be the concern of the entire leadership. Indeed, this is the essence of their concern. There can be no organizational work whose content is not political education in one form or another. There must be a unity in content and direction of what has previously been separated into two departments—organization and education. As part of this problem, it is clear that we need to develop a corps of speakers and educators, instead of limiting our speakers' list to a few leading comrades. We must develop an entire range of effective and popular mass meeting speakers, irrespective of whether or not they hold official national posts in the Association. Likewise, as to educators in the Association. We shall avail ourselves of the maximum of our old corps of Marxist educators, but we must quickly increase their number. We must, further, demand of all our educators a new approach to make their work most serviceable in the times we live in. Our educators today cannot limit themselves to class-room education but must master the technique of taking current issues and problems as the starting point for deepening the understanding of Marxism-Leninism.

(3) While we have much to be proud of in our past literature and publication activity, this also should be better planned and controlled by the Association itself. Especially is it necessary to plan a publications program which will provide the Association members with literature that will deal with current issues, while the issues are pressing.

These and all other phases of political-educational activity will be the concern of the entire leadership, starting with the President. The secretary of the Association Club or Committee should combine the responsibility of organization, education and press, although assignments of specific phases of this work can be given to others, if necessary. The post of *Daily Worker* correspondent or Labor Editor, as already stated, clearly belongs to one of the most responsible Communist leaders in each state or district.

* * *

What are the perspectives of

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growth of the Communist Association? The success of the recruiting campaign, conducted while we were in the process of discussing the organizational change, gives a clear and positive answer. To the extent that we learn to function along the lines indicated, there will open up great perspectives for building the Association into a really large organization. The expectations are not unreasonable that, with effective work, we conclude the year 1944 with 100,000 registered members.

This raises a question that has received considerable attention in the pre-convention discussion and specifically in the recruiting campaign, namely: Who may become an Association member? The question has variations such as: Must one believe in Socialism to be accepted into the Association? or: Suppose one believes the Communists to be a constructive force for national unity and agrees with their immediate program but definitely believes in the present social system, would such a person be accepted into the Association?

The Preamble to our Constitution describes briefly the character of the organization. It states, in part:

"It [the C.P.A.] adheres to the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism, the heritage of the best thought of humanity and of a hundred years' experience of the labor movement, principles which have proved to be indispensable to the national existence and independence of every nation; it looks forward to a future in which, by democratic choice of the American people, our own country will solve the problems arising out of the contradictions between the social character of production and its private ownership, incorporating the lessons of the most fruitful achievements of all mankind in a form and manner consistent with American tradition and character."

Further, the very nature of the program of the C.P.A. means that each member shall devote his full energies to defend the nation and the working class and actively participate in and strengthen the organizations of labor and the people. The Constitution specifically provides that each member must accept the Association program and policies.

The reference to the acceptance —not necessarily the full understanding—of the Association program, including the Preamble, answers the question raised above as to acceptance of the principles of Socialism as a condition for membership. It is placed in its correct relationship to the building of the Marxist organization under present-day conditions. Robert Minor, in one of the series of "Questions and Answers" in the *Daily Worker,* elaborated on this question, in a way we can well repeat:

"Great masses of workers, the very best of the working class, are moving by millions into the labor movement, and many thousands are becoming willing, and in many cases **eager,** to find the explanation of the tremendous events of the time. That they come to the Communist organization is proof that they want to find their way forward. It would be utterly absurd for us to require of every worker

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applicant at this time an exact understanding of the laws of development of modern history, and therefore a fully developed belief in socialism. It would be sectarian and non-Marxist on our part.

"We can ask of new applicants to membership in the Communist organization only loyalty to the principles that are already comprehensive to all workers, devotion to the most basic duties of action today; plus a willingness and eagerness to study the program and the history and the theory which will make them thorough Communists. And above all a willingness to fight, to sacrifice in the war of mankind against Nazi enslavement is the first requirement for entering the Communist movement."

We have taken a historical step in our Convention. To get the maximum results will necessitate not only political clarity but a new orientation on the part of every Club and every committee. Every one of us must learn to work in a new way in accord with the general ideas outlined in the Convention decisions. We must display an energetic and convincing activity—wage a struggle, if necessary—to achieve this.

We are confident of success, because today our membership is becoming more and more conscious of the role and the contribution of the Communists over the past quarter of a century. As we look back across these years, we see how the Communists raised high the banner of struggle for the economic and political rights of the people, outstanding in this struggle being our contribution to the understanding and organization of the great trade union movement and the Negro people's movement; we see the consistent contribution of the Communists to the defense of our nation against the threat of fascism.

As we look ahead, toward the decisive victory over the forces of fascism, there opens up the perspective of ushering in an era of orderly democratic progress for all peoples and nations. We pledge ourselves to full collaboration in that course. The activity and further strengthening of the political influence, the press and the organizational status of the Communist Political Association are aimed at increasing our contribution to our nation's progress, now and in the post-war era.

In conclusion, let us be clear that our entire discussion of the functioning of the Communist Association—its organizational and educational activities—aims at making it easier for the Association, on the basis of its Marxist program, to contribute more effectively to the American nation, precisely because it is the foremost political force of the American working people. History has confirmed the contribution of the Communist movement in America to our nation and its people. The aim of the Association is to strengthen the traditional vanguard role of Marxists in the new historical setting when national unity is the guarantee for victory. We can look forward with confidence to an unprecedented growth of our Marxist organization in the months and years ahead.

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THE HOOVER-DEWEY-McCORMICK ELECTION THREAT TO TEHERAN

(Speech delivered at the National Convention of the Communist Political Association, May 20, 1944. Abridged text.)

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

THE present elections, as Earl Browder has repeatedly stated, are the most important since 1864. At stake are the Teheran decisions with their profound significance both nationally and internationally. Victory for Roosevelt would mean the carrying out of these decisions, whereas victory for the Hoover-Dewey-McCormick Republican machine would gravely jeopardize them. All over the world, the democratic forces are hoping for a fourth term for President Roosevelt, while Hitler and international reaction are basing their hopes upon a Republican success.

I want particularly to signalize the danger of the Republican and poll-taxer opposition, both in the election and in the post-war period. Summing up Earl Browder's report, our main convention resolution says: "The decisive issues in these fateful elections are: the victory program of our Government and Commander-in-Chief; Teheran and the firmest unity of the American-Soviet-British coalition; the national unity and security of the United States; full production and maximum employment; safeguarding the welfare and democratic liberties of the American people. . . ."

First, as to the task of winning the war—the central issue in the campaign. Aside from the Hearst-McCormick group, obviously the powerful capitalist forces behind the reactionary Republican leadership do not want a Hitler victory. Nevertheless they have undermined national unity by slandering our Commander-in-Chief and by assailing the trade unions; they have fought against price and profits control; some of them have nurtured traitorous fascist elements and sought to undermine the United Nations by anti-British and anti-Soviet agitation.

To win the war and the peace it is indispensable to maintain the Roosevelt Administration in power. Roosevelt is leading us to victory, a Dewey would give us a peace equivalent to defeat. The war issue must be thus squarely placed before the nation. A Dewey would not prosecute the war to complete victory, smash fascism throughout Europe, or formulate a democratic peace. Throughout the war the Hoover-Vandenberg-Dewey forces have shown a constant tendency to come to an agreement with world fascism.

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Secondly, there is the vital election issue of post-war collaboration among the nations to maintain world peace and to lead in economic reconstruction, as outlined by the Teheran Conference and as expressed by Earl Browder at this Convention. During the war the thinking of the American people on international matters has profoundly altered. Isolationism has received a mortal blow, colonialism has fallen into deep discredit, a friendly attitude has developed toward the U.S.S.R., and the conviction is now almost universal that the United States must become part of a post-war world organization of states. Excepting for the most reactionary elements, of the du Pont, Hearst, McCormick stripe, American capitalists realize that the United States will have to collaborate, in the post-war stage, with the U.S.S.R., in the United Nations. Their wide acceptance of the Moscow and Teheran agreements evidences these new moods.

Therefore, with Roosevelt continued in office and backed up by the labor movement, the United States, after the war, would continue in collaboration with its present war allies, to maintain world peace and to work upon the gigantic tasks of economic reconstruction. This would guarantee that the Teheran agreement would be essentially realized.

With a Dewey or any other Republican administration, however, the whole Teheran program of world order would be gravely imperiled. The outcome would send a shudder of apprehension throughout Latin America, the occupied countries, the whole democratic world. It would be a victory of the most reactionary, most militantly imperialist, and most pro-fascist elements in the American capitalist class.

This country, undamaged by war devastation, will possess a huge army and the largest navy and airforce in the world; it will have a merchant fleet about twice as big as Great Britain's, and an enormously expanded industrial system clamoring for export outlets; moreover, its major capitalist competitors will be either weakened or knocked out altogether by the war.

That such a situation would invite aggressive imperialist policies by a reactionary American government is obvious. A Dewey administration, controlled by the most reactionary sections of monopoly capital, allied with poll-taxer Democrats and pushed on by isolationists and pro-fascists of the Hearst-McCormick breed—an administration in which organized labor's influence would be at a minimum—could be deterred from dangerous imperialist policies only by determined mass democratic pressure and the resistance of other world powers. In this election, therefore, we cannot ignore the imperialist danger inherent in a reactionary victory, and the menace it bears to the fulfillment of Teheran. Especially is this necessary because of the tendency among many to accept the eleventh-hour speeches of Dewey and Bricker as proof that the reactionary leaders of the Republican Party have embarked upon a policy of genuine wartime and post-war collaboration with the democratic peoples of the world.

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In view of the strong trend among the American people toward international cooperation, Dewey finds it necessary to hide demagogically his real position on international affairs. Significant of his true position is his cheek-by-jowl friendship with American isolationists, his erstwhile condemnation of the Roosevelt Administration for recognizing the U.S.S.R., his proposal to the Mackinac Conference of Republicans for an American-British alliance obviously to be directed against the U.S.S.R., his hyper-critical attitude toward the Teheran agreement, etc. To elect to the Presidency a man holding, either now or in the recent past, such reactionary ideas would be to invite disaster to the whole democratic program laid down at Teheran.

Thirdly, the post-war period will require a program of world-scale economic reconstruction for vast areas devastated, whole populations impoverished, industries wrecked, government debts piled mountain high, world markets shattered, and oppressed classes and peoples everywhere demanding freedom and a better life.

In the long run these great problems cannot be basically solved short of establishing socialism. But, obviously, the decisive masses of the people in Europe, Asia and America are not yet prepared to adopt socialism. Hence, the capitalist system, in order to live, to meet the crying needs of the people and to move toward an era of prosperity, spoken of by Browder in his report, must adopt many new and drastic economic and political policies. In the main, these will go in the direction of a greater democracy and also of a more active intervention by governments in the economic life of the respective countries, within the framework of existing social conditions and in cooperation with the decisive sectors of all classes.

In the post-war period the influence of the Soviet Union will be immense in the economic and political reconstruction of the world. It will be a decisive factor in maintaining international peace; it will provide a huge market for imports; its socialist economy will astound the world with its swift recovery from the war's ravages and its rapid advance to mass prosperity. But the capitalist system generally will be able to alleviate its problems only if it takes the path, already indicated, toward greater democracy and a more planful organization of its economy. The formation of the U.N.R.R.A. and the projected eight-billion-dollar currency stabilization fund are only foretastes of the far-reaching economic measures still to come. Private enterprise, while given full opportunity to meet the problems of employment and production, will have to be supplemented by governmental policies which will involve curbing harmful practices of monopolies and cartels, state assistance in the organization of foreign trade, the planned industrialization of backward countries, etc. The British capitalists are pretty generally alert to the need for more such measures, and this is true also of many American capitalists.

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If the United States is to play its decisive role in meeting the great economic post-war problems, the Roosevelt Administration must be continued in office. Its record and its program show that, with the active support of an alert labor movement, it can and will meet these problems in the spirit of Teheran. It could not only prevent a post-war economic collapse, but, as our new preamble says, open up a new era of prosperity. But a Republican administration would surely head toward eventual economic disaster.

The leadership of the Republican Party and its big monopolist backers show no comprehension of post-war economic needs. On the international scale they have proposed nothing adequate to meet the grave post-war problems, and on the domestic scene, judging from their various pronouncements, they would try to face the post-war period by driving millions of women out of industry, by letting the restored 40-hour week take care of six or eight million more workers, and by forcing several million others to walk the streets unemployed. This is the real meaning of Governor Bricker's plan of a 100-billion-dollar national income, which would be equal to only about $70 billion in pre-war values.

The Republican leadership is depending upon a post-war boom, after the first readjustment period, to solve the economic problems after the war in the foregoing limited sense. Any endorsement it may give to social insurance, government works, lowered tariffs, or government planning, to protect the workers and to keep the industries in operation is of a perfunctory and auxiliary character. Such a post-war boom, which would necessarily be very limited in scope, could not solve the profound post-war economic problems.

The present fanatical cry for "free enterprise" is directed to defeat Roosevelt, and to win unrestricted economic-political control for monopoly capital. While, as Browder has said, this hysterical shouting cannot be countered by demands for socialism or even for government ownership of key industries, nevertheless it must be met with a firm insistence by the win-the-war, win-the-peace forces upon the necessity of their program of a strengthened democracy and of the supplementation of private industry with government planning for maximum production and employment. Summing up Earl Browder's report, our main resolution indicates the general lines along which this planning must go.

But a Dewey, or other Republican administration, dominated by reactionaries, would, following a short-lived and limited boom, literally have to be kicked into makeshift planning (which they would seek to adapt to reactionary purposes) after untold mass suffering and widespread economic breakdown; whereas a Roosevelt Administration, supported by organized labor and other democratic elements of the nation, instead of merely depending upon a spontaneous boom and then rushing in with half-baked relief measures after the economic crash had come, would take the

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necessary governmental steps in advance, by planning to ensure the industries from collapse and by providing protection for the toiling masses.

In short, a Roosevelt Administration would offer the opportunity to realize the economic perspectives opened up at Teheran, whereas a Republican administration would blot out such perspectives.

* * *

Fourthly, as to the vital question of extending American democracy as an important part of a growing world democracy. A progressively strengthened democracy is necessary not only in the liberated countries but also in the United States and all of the victorious capitalist countries. Only democratic governments with a solid people's base will be able to take the necessary fundamental steps for decisive victory in the war, to rout out fascism, to maintain world peace through a collaborative United Nations, and carry through the far-reaching post-war economic reconstruction—in short, to realize the great goals outlined at Teheran. The national unity, consisting of the anti-Hitler forces of all classes, must be one in which labor and other democratic elements play a decisive role. In Europe a sign of this new democratic national unity is the inclusion of Communists in various anti-Hitler provisional governments of the occupied countries. In the United States, it is to be seen in the growing influence of the labor movement and of other democratic forces. Our main resolution hits the nail squarely on the head when it says: "The camp of national unity, which is composed of the patriotic forces of all classes, from the working people to the capitalists, rests and depends upon the working class, the backbone and driving force of the nation and its win-the-war coalition."

Re-election of the Roosevelt Administration, with a strong victory Congress behind it, is a precondition for the full carrying out of the Teheran decisions, nationally and internationally. Behind Roosevelt stand the great democratic masses of the American people; in first line, the labor movement. Only a government with such a democratic base can attack the great problems of the war and the post-war period successfully. Victory for Roosevelt in the elections would also mean a victory for world democracy; his defeat would be a body blow to democracy everywhere. The election of a Dewey to the Presidency would give new hope and strength to reaction and fascism in the United States and throughout the world.

In this country, there are strong and sinister forces of reaction, the makings of a dangerous growth of fascism. A Republican victory would galvanize all these anti-social elements into life and confront us and the world with a most serious fascist danger. These reactionary elements are licking their chops in anticipation of what they would do to the workers in the event of a Republican victory. During this election year, it is true, they are careful not to arouse the workers too much; but we would be fools if we were to forget their

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rabid anti-union drive in Congress and in many state legislatures only a few months ago, as well as their sinister rallying in support of Avery in the Montgomery Ward case.

For its own protection, as well as for the welfare of our nation, therefore, organized labor with other patriotic forces must see to it that reaction is thoroughly defeated in this crucial election. To do this, labor must strengthen its ranks, economically and politically. It must mobilize all its forces for the election struggle. It must have as part of its victory program plans to prevent a post-war economic collapse of which the reactionaries would surely take advantage to attack the living standards and organizations of the workers. And, especially, it must proceed upon the non-partisan program emphasized so strongly in Earl Browder's report.

The Teheran policies must be fought for, and the biggest fight we now have on the home front is to defeat reaction in the elections. President Roosevelt has behind him a substantial majority of the American people, and his strength is constantly growing, as many recent local elections show. But let us not underestimate the opposition. The forces arrayed against Roosevelt are very powerful. While the bulk of American capitalists want to win the war and to have post-war international cooperation to maintain world peace, nevertheless many of them, because of their opposition to Roosevelt's labor and social policies, are working, either covertly or openly, to defeat Roosevelt, whose reelection is fundamental to the success of Teheran. The same opposition is to be found in at least 90 per cent of the press in the North and West. The reactionaries, likewise, have secured a powerful hold in the agricultural areas, and they are also busily provoking anti-Roosevelt movements among the large national groups of Germans, Italians, Poles, and Irish.

The win-the-war, win-the-peace forces have a stiff fight ahead in the elections. But the struggle can and will be won, particularly if we pay attention to the systematic application of the non-partisan policy of educating the voters to rise above party lines, to vote for the win-the-war Roosevelt Administration. Our Association, strengthened by many thousands of new members, will be a real factor in winning the victory. We must do mass work, as an organization and jointly with other forces on an unprecedented scale, including the organization of many hundreds of outdoor and indoor meetings. There must also be a vast increase in our radio work over anything we have ever done before in the elections. We must distribute millions of pieces of election literature and stimulate our forces everywhere to support organized labor in the formation of its political action committees. We must assist in registering the war workers and in getting ballots to the soldiers. We must work to bring out the workers on election day. Our Association can and must be a truly vital factor in helping the American people win next November a world-decisive democratic victory.

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NEW YORK IN THE 1944 ELECTION LINE-UP

(Keynote Address to the New York State Convention of the Communist Political Association, New York City, June 10, 1944)

BY GILBERT GREEN

FELLOW DELEGATES and friends:

The great invasion is on. The two-front war, the nemesis Herr Hitler thought could never come, has finally descended upon him. It is this that must govern our every thought and our every action. The order of the day is pointed and clear. Everything behind the invasion! Everything to assure its success! Everything to hasten the day of victory!

That is the keynote of this first Empire State Convention of the Communist Political Association. Our deliberations here today have but a single purpose: to help us do our full part, to help us weld together the people of our great state into a solid phalanx behind the fighting front and the nation's Commander-in-Chief.

We know that the opening of the Western Front signalizes the beginning of the end of the Nazi beast. But we have no illusions. Victory will not come easily: for America, the period of grimmest fighting and greatest sacrifice has but begun.

The next weeks and months will be trying ones. The greatest military drama of all history is unfolding before our eyes, and millions of American sons—of our own flesh and blood—will be among its heroes. Upon the outcome of this titanic conflict depends the future of civilization as we know it—the way you and I will live our lives and the way our children and our children's children will live theirs.

This, therefore, is the moment to rededicate ourselves anew to the noble cause for which we fight. This is the time to put aside secondary considerations. And let us be perfectly plain—*all* considerations are secondary to that of winning the war.

* * *

The danger to our country has not yet passed. The enemy is not yet beaten. His towel is not yet in the ring. It's true, he's weaker, but with fiendish cunning he stalls for time, holds on in the clinches, tries to conserve his strength for the last round. And his seconds urge him

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on, while his spies in our corner would have him believe that our sudden show of strength is but a flash-in-the-pan.

America has been electrified by the news of the invasion. It has been jolted out of its complacency and sobered up to its responsibilities. The people are proud and happy, but beneath the surface there kindles a nervous tension that was absent a week ago. Sensing the mood of the people, the peddlers of defeatism have momentarily withdrawn their wares. As during the first few days following Pearl Harbor, they speak suavely for national unity. But already this is wearing off. Soon these gentlemen will be back at their old stands.

If the victories are rapid and the casualties light, they will try to lull us into a false sense of optimism. They will tell us that the war is as good as won and that we ought to get on with the real war—the war of class against class, South against North, white against Negro, Gentile against Jew, Protestant against Catholic, Republican against Democrat — in short — America against America. They will tell us that, now that Hitler is as good as licked, watch out for Stalin, watch out for Churchill, and, above all, watch out for *that man* in the White House!

If the casualties are heavy, if the fighting is tough, if we suffer temporary set-backs, they will sing their same treasonable tunes, but in another key. Their object will be to produce panic, to destroy morale, to make us lose confidence in our fighting men and in our leadership. They will shed crocodile tears over our glorious dead and call for an end to the carnage. They will accuse us of fighting other people's wars—meaning, of course, the Jews, the Russians, the British —for, after all, wasn't it the Jews, the Russians, and the British who were attacked at Pearl Harbor? The shrill cries of the negotiated-peace chorus will rise to the pitch of hysteria. "Peace Now," will be their theme song, and it will be chanted by the motley sextet of Patterson, McCormick, Coughlin, John L. Lewis, Hearst, and that chaste paragon of patriotism, Norman Thomas.

Too many people discount the defeatist treason all about them, because its instigators are but a small minority. Sure, they say, the *Daily News* is putrid, stinks to high heaven, but—isn't Dick Tracy a good comic strip?—and who wants to miss Dick Tracy? And the person who complacently reasons this way, may himself have a son on a beachhead in France, a son who may pay with his life for our misguided tolerance of treason.

Do I exaggerate? Ask yourselves these questions: Why does Hitler continue fighting? How does he continue to hold the Germans in line when by this time even a Nazi dumkopf should know that Hitler's jig is up?

It's simple. The Nazis still believe they can get a negotiated peace, and every time they begin to have doubts on that score, they reassure themselves by reading some editorials or articles from Col. Patterson's newspaper. Goebbels doesn't deliver speeches any more,

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you will note, for no one would believe him. But when he broadcasts and reprints the gems of veracity and wisdom from our treasonable gutter sheets, the average Nazi must certainly think that the civil war has started all over again in this country.

When Norman Thomas launched his new "Peace Now" campaign a week ago, he spoke not alone to the American people. That would have been bad enough. But you can rest assured Herr Goebbels just wouldn't miss a speech of Norman Thomas. It's like a shot in the arm to Nazi morale, telling them to keep right on fighting, to put aside all thoughts of surrender, for America is being softened up for a negotiated peace. And what do you think was the reaction in Berlin when Mr. Avery, of Montgomery Ward, told the U.S. Government to go to hell, or when Mr. Lewis pulled 600,000 miners out on strike?

Many patriotic Americans have argued that we need national unity to bolster the morale of our fighting men and that we need uninterrupted production to supply them with the materials of war. This is true. But the average person knows that the morale of our soldiers is high and will remain high and that we have pretty nearly won the battle of production. There has been much dispute over whether the Montgomery Ward plant in Chicago is a war production unit. The fact is that it is. But whether it is or not does not affect the issue. One thing we do know, the Montgomery Ward strike, and all strikes in whatever industries they take place, are a boon to Nazi and Japanese morale, help prolong the war, and cost the lives of countless American men, just as surely as if they were murdered in cold blood. (And in that connection, the editors of *PM* might well bear this in mind the next time they rush to support some strike provoked by the pro-fascist Averys in the ranks of management and the equally pro-fascist Trotskyites in the ranks of labor.)

* * *

The importance of responsibility must be emphasized and re-emphasized today. Let us remember that in the midst of the most crucial military battles of the war, we shall also find ourselves in the throes of a national Presidential election. Thus, while millions of American boys are engaging the enemy in mortal combat abroad, we face the danger of becoming embroiled in bitter partisan political strife at home.

This, too, is part of Hitler's calculations. If yesterday he believed coalition warfare between the Allies an impossibility, and gambled his all on that assumption, today he is gambling on the development of a sharp internal political conflict in the United States which may upset the nation's war leadership and policies.

* * *

Under no circumstances must the election be permitted to obscure the war. On the contrary, the war and its needs must fashion the issues and shape the character of the election. He who partakes of the forbidden fruit of partisan politics must be made to suffer the penalty

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of ignominious defeat at the hands of the people.

The Communist Political Association of New York is a non-party political organization. As such, it does not propose to become the protagonist or antagonist of any political party, whether Democratic, Republican, or American Labor. Its concern is not with party labels. It takes its stand on the basis of issues and on candidates as they stand forth in regard to issues. It is the ardent friend of the honest, progressive, national unity forces in all parties, and the intransigeant foe of the defeatist, corrupt, venal, and reactionary forces wherever they may be. In the words of Earl Browder:

"We will participate in political life as independents, through the established party organizations of our progressive associates, without committing ourselves to any party label. We will judge issues and men on their merits."

How to overcome the dangers of extreme partisanship, how to guarantee that the election struggle does not play into the hands of the enemies, how to keep the defeatists from seizing the reins of political power—these are the burning problems confronting our country today.

And certainly the solution of these problems is not to be found in the direction of compromising with, or surrendering to, the bluster, threats and blackmail of the reactionaries and their defeatist friends.

At this very moment, only three days after D-Day, we are witnessing a despicable example of political blackmail directed against the President and our war effort. In the states of Texas and Mississippi, the Southern bourbon reactionaries have seized control of the Democratic State Conventions, have refused to choose electors pledged to support that party's candidates, and are threatening to bolt if the national convention renominates Henry A. Wallace for Vice-President or takes a clear-cut stand in support of the recent Supreme Court decision guaranteeing the democratic rights of the Negro people.

To give way to this cabal would be disastrous. It would throw millions of Negro votes and millions of white progressive votes in the Republican column, and it would certainly prolong and endanger the war. How can we ever hope to arouse the hundreds of millions of the colored peoples of Asia and the Far East to battle on our side in this war, if every day we tell them that we consider them inferior peoples by our treatment of the colored people here at home?

Let me give you direct confirmation of this alarming condition. Some weeks ago a letter came from a serviceman in the American air force fighting on the Chinese front. Let me read you what he wrote: "the treatment of Negro troops is unfortunately all too familiar and the one glaring contradiction of our war aims. After being through the Far East I know that the elimination of such practices in the United States would inspire hundreds of millions of Indians and Chinese, almost half the population of the globe to greater heights of sacrifice for the prosecution of the war." This

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was written by an American who was also a veteran of the Spanish Civil War. He was a Communist. He was my friend. His name was Larry Lustgarten. Larry Lustgarten is dead. He has since been killed in action on the China-India front.

* * *

It is our firm and considered judgment that the most important nonpartisan task to be achieved this year is the re-election of Franklin D. Roosevelt. We support the re-election of President Roosevelt as an urgent war measure.

Without even weighing the pros and cons of the probable Presidential candidates, we flatly declare that any change of Commander-in-Chief at this time would be tantamount to a national calamity. We go further—even the remote possibility of a change of national leadership in this country becomes a factor aiding Nazi and Japanese morale and prolongs the war; for it encourages the enemy to believe that a political upset in the United States could open the doors to a negotiated peace. And no amount of fulminating on Governor Dewey's part would convince Adolf Hitler to the contrary, as long as a McCormick, a Gerald L. K. Smith, and a Hoover are plugging away in Dewey's corner—and for that matter, neither would it convince any American who knows what the score is. On April 10, in this city, Gerald L. K. Smith said the following about Tom Dewey:

"Any candidate trying to line up New York and certain seaboard states has a right to insult me once or twice in order to make votes."

Hitler could very well say the same.

Thus, in the interest of the most rapid victory, in behalf of the lives of our fighting men, we must once and for all dissipate the fallacious Nazi notion that we Americans are stupid enough to play their game on election day, and the sooner we do this, the better our chances will be of winning the European phase of the war even before November 7.

If only all the American people could see the elections in this light, if only they could put aside their partisan prejudices, there would be no doubt as to the outcome. President Roosevelt would be re-elected with the largest majority ever given a President of the United States. And the Republicans know this too; hence their fear of a large soldiers' vote and their defeat of an effective G.I. vote bill in Congress. They know that the soldier in the foxhole and on the beachhead has no stomach for partisan considerations, that he wants the war won and over with, and that he wants the additional assurance that what he fought and bled for will not be betrayed by wily politicians at home.

More and more Americans, from all walks of life, but especially from the ranks of labor, are beginning to see the elections in this light. That is why a growing number of Republicans in our state are thinking of supporting President Roosevelt for a fourth term.

But partisanship is a dangerous virus that seeps into the pores of our national life, leaving its poisonous effects even upon men and women of honesty and integrity, often

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without their recognizing it. We see it happening in this city and in this state. Note the change that has come over the independent Republican newspaper, the staid *New York Herald Tribune,* since it decided to join the partisan parade for Tom Dewey. Only a month ago, on May 9, this paper published a courageous editorial entitled "Timid America," in which it derided what it called the "childish fear of . . . the reds" and declared: "For better or worse, the days of the *cordon sanitaire* of A. Mitchell Palmer and the 'Red Scare' have gone forever." But forever lasted a week for the *Herald Tribune.* In recent days it has engaged in some subtle and some not-so-subtle Red-baiting of its own. Why? Because the Republican National Chairman, Harrison Spangler, has decreed that Red-baiting is to be used as a special Republican weapon this year against the President, the C.I.O. Political Action Committee, the A.L.P., and all progressives who reject partisanship and seek a win-the-war Congress.

We also note how sincere and patriotic people like Mrs. Sarah Pelham Speaks, A. Clayton Powell's Congressional opponent, and Congressman-elect Mr. Ellsworth Buck, lend themselves to partisanship and become bait to catch votes for Dewey. We have no quarrel with Mr. Buck for desiring to go to Congress, but we do accuse him of playing partisan politics when he levels attacks upon the national Administration and campaigns in behalf of Dewey.

We hope that the true progressives and patriots among the prominent Republicans of our state will let their conscience and their love of country be their guide. Men and women such as Newbold Morris, Genevieve Earle, Channing Tobias, Rolland Marvin, Stanley Isaacs, and Wendell Willkie must not fail the vast number who look to them for leadership.

* * *

The people of New York State face a tremendous responsibiilty in this year's election. New York is the largest state of the union, with forty-seven votes in the electoral college. New York State is also the home of President Roosevelt and of the leading Republican aspirant for the Presidency, Governor Dewey. The race will in all likelihood be between these two New Yorkers. Thus, the fight in our state will grow fast and furious.

We have complete confidence that the people in their overwhelming majority will understand the issue in this year's election and rally behind their Commander-in-Chief. But we want to sound a note of warning. This understanding will not be achieved of itself. The people must be reached. They must be made conscious of the issues, and of the dangers. They must be rallied and organized for electoral victory.

A great danger stems from the fact that it is the defeatists, the enemies of the war effort, the professional Roosevelt haters and the patronage boys who have their eyes on the elections, who are busy day and night building their political machines, while the people, who really want to win the war, are busy

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with production, in civilian defense, and are, it should be said, not sufficiently concerned with politics.

Let us not forget that two wartime elections have already taken place in the State of New York. In both of these the Republicans were able to elect their statewide candidates. In 1942, they elected Dewey for Governor; in 1943, Hanley for Lieutenant Governor. These statewide elections and the numerous local elections provide us the lessons that must be studied if victory is to be achieved this year.

Point No. 1 that must be ever kept in mind is that the people cannot depend upon the old, political machines to do the job for them. Let us take the Democratic Party in this state. In many upstate regions, especially in the rural counties, it is pitifully weak and demoralized, and in more than one place led by a dummy leadership under the control of the local Republican boss.

In New York City, where it is the strongest party, it is also in a rather sorry state. Having been kept out of City Hall all these years and having lost the governorship two years ago, the Democratic Party is hungry for patronage, and patronage, my friends, is the life-blood of both major party machines. This has affected the morale of the Democratic Party and reduced its manpower. At the same time, the Democratic Party is ridden through and through by treachery. Let us but recall that if Tom Dewey is today Governor of the great state of New York, his first thanks should go to one by the name of James Aloysius Farley. Jim Farley has just resigned as Democratic State Chairman. We say, good riddance! Let us hope the next chairman is not the stooge of Genial Jim but a man determined to do the people's job.

In the lower ranks of the Democratic Party this treachery is taking the form of outright defections and deals with local Republicans, who now with the state machinery in their hands are the boys in the gravy. So flagrant is this condition, that at the time of the special election in the 21st Congressional District, in one of the Election Districts not even the two Democratic election captains voted for their candidate. Out of 98 enrolled Democratic votes in this Election District, not a solitary one went to the Democratic candidate!

At the same time, the various county leaders are so steeped in the old school of politics, so bigoted and narrowminded, that they are actual deadweights on their own organization, pulling down the whole party with them. Despite the shellacking the Democrats received in the local Councilmanic election, they have learned nothing whatsoever from it. The lesson is still lost upon them as to why a Communist, Peter V. Cacchione, got the highest first choice vote of any candidate in the city; or why Stanley Isaacs, the Republican progressive, received the largest total vote in the city; or why the second Communist Councilman, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., was able to win in Manhattan after having been told he hadn't a chance; or, why Michael J. Quill of the Bronx got more votes from the Jew-

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ish people of that borough than did Louis Cohen, the Democratic wheelhorse who was not even elected. The Democratic leaders still operate on the theory that a barrel of beer and a box of pretzels will deliver more votes than the right kind of people's candidate fighting on the right side of issues. And when their candidates lose, or squeeze through by the skin of their teeth, the only conclusion they draw, and that only after a great deal of pondering, is that they ought to change their brand of beer.

It is this kind of political thinking, if you can call it that, it is this contempt for the people and their interests that explains the refusal of the New York County Democratic Committee to designate the most effective champion and the most consistent supporter of the President for re-election to Congress—labor's own fighting Congressman, Vito Marcantonio.

It is this situation in the Democratic Party which gives added emphasis to the importance of the American Labor Party as a vehicle of the independent voters who will throw their support to the President and all win-the-war candidates. The A.L.P. has the opportunity of becoming an important instrument through which the people, especially labor, build their own electoral machine, election district by election district, in order to make up for the weaknesses, defections, and betrayals in the Democratic Party. The A.L.P. can also be the means by which to correct the partisanship and arrogance of both major party machines in the selection of candidates, especially where it exercises the effective balance of power. However, this is by no means the only way to accomplish this particular objective; the people must also learn the use of that great democratic instrument, the primary ballot. Two years ago the enrolled voters of the 20th Congressional District taught a lesson to the entrenched machines in both major parties by rejecting the hand-picked candidates and giving the nomination to their own choice, to Vito Marcantonio. We feel certain that the voters in the new Congressional district will do the same this year.

Another element of mischief in state politics is the formation of a new party—created in the image of David Dubinsky and with the aim of venting the spleen of a reactionary Social-Democratic clique. The only thing liberal about the so-called Liberal Party is its name. Its only purpose in life is to Red-bait the A.L.P. and the C.I.O., and to carry on a vendetta against those who stand for national and United Nations unity. At best it will add confusion to an already confused scene, and at worst it will play the unsavory game of meeting the Republicans more than half-way by a policy of Red-baiting from the left. These people are completely irresponsible and it can be expected that they will go out of their way to try to bring about the defeat of many honest, progressive win-the-war candidates for Congress and for State Legislatures.

Our position toward local candidates is also determined by our non-party stand. We favor the re-elec-

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tion of every incumbent whose record has been consistently progressive and win-the-war. We favor the defeat of every incumbent whose record has been the opposite. We believe that Adam Clayton Powell should be sent to Congress from the new Congressional District in Harlem. We believe that not a stone should be left unturned to bring about the defeat of that pro-fascist pal of the Bundists, Hamilton Fish. We are happy to note that in his district, the new 29th, the progressive Republicans, Democrats, and American Labor Party forces are rallying for this task.

The intention of the Democratic Party in that district to give its nomination to the win-the-war Republican Augustus Bennet is a noteworthy example of non-partisanship which could well be followed in many other parts of our state. Certainly in many of the upstate counties the present reactionary Republican incumbents cannot be defeated on any Democratic-versus-Republican line-up. In these places let independent Republicans come forward and, with the support of all the win-the-war and progressive forces, win a victory for non-partisanship.

Emphasizing the strategic role of the A.L.P. in this year's campaign, it seems to us, however, that the A.L.P. has let too much grass grow under its feet since its resounding primary victory. Apparently there are not sufficient awareness and alarm over the danger of losing New York State to the Republicans and a feeling that there is ample time for an effective campaign. But this, while perhaps true in a normal election year, is not true this year. The fight is already on, and not a moment is to be lost.

Of course, the A.L.P., while it may very well be decisive in this state, is not the only instrument the people must build for the election. The C.I.O. is already building its network of Political Action Committees, which will undoubtedly play a great part in rallying the support of Democrats, Republicans, Laborites, and independents alike, for the purpose of assuring the election of President Roosevelt and a win-the-war Congress.

In the A. F. of L. there is still a danger that the state leadership may give either direct or indirect assistance to Dewey. This, however, can be blocked, if the pro-Roosevelt forces assert greater initiative, take the offensive, and proceed to unite their ranks. Draft Roosevelt Committees are springing up in the A. F. of L., and these should press upon the leadership, both state and national, for a forthright endorsement of the President. Certainly, nothing less than this should come out of the A. F. of L. State Convention this year.

The I.L.G.W.U. Convention has gone on record for a fourth term. If David Dubinsky is sincere in this endorsement, he will rally his union for a determined fight to get the city and state A. F. of L. lined up behind President Roosevelt as well. Let us really see where Mr. Dubinsky stands on this issue.

Non-Partisan Committees for Roosevelt are also making their appearance. These, we hope, will reach

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into every group and segment of our population—the Negro people, the national groups, the farmers, the women, the youth, the businessmen, etc.

* * *

Most important and most immediate of all is the immense task of assuring the largest registration, enrollment, and vote ever recorded in the State of New York. The elections can easily be won if the mass of the people, especially the workers, come out to register and vote. If the win-the-war candidates are defeated in the State of New York, it will not be by the strength of their opponents, but because of the tens of thousands of their friends who will have stayed at home. The elections may be lost by default.

One of the big lessons to be learned from the Councilmanic victories in New York City last November is the importance of guaranteeing a large registration. There is no use convincing people to vote for the right candidates on November 7, if they fail to register in New York City by October 14, and in the rest of the state by October 21.

The seriousness of the registration job this year cannot be overstressed. Four years ago, in 1940, there were 8,300,000 citizens of voting age in the state, 6,300,000 of them voted that year. In other words, 2,000,000 citizens did not take the trouble to register and vote, or ten times as many as Roosevelt's majority in the state that year. But 1940 was a good year. In 1942 and '43 the vote in New York State was much smaller.

The failure to register and enroll is in the first place a defect of the working class housewife and in the second of the industrial worker. This situation has been aggravated since the war because of the long hours of work. This gives a decided advantage to the upstate Republicans through the system of life registration in the rural counties, a system under which even the dead can vote.

How this operates can be seen by the fact that although the population in New York City in 1940 was nearly a million and a half larger than that in the rest of the State, the registration outside of New York City was 187,000 larger than in the city.

How the wartime shift of population, the departure of men to the armed forces, and the long hours of work in industry even further aggravate this problem is expressed in the registration figures for the year 1942. By that year, upstate showed the startling figure of 880,000 more registered voters than the City of New York, and this certainly had something to do with Dewey's victory that year. When it is borne in mind that New York City must give President Roosevelt a cool majority of at least 600,000 if he is to win the state, one can appreciate how dangerous is this registration lag in New York City.

In a sense, the problem is even more complicated this year, because since 1940 1,340,000 men of this state have entered the armed forces, 800,000 from the City of New York. These men must be given the right to vote! Dewey and the Republicans must not succeed in disfranchising them!

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The C.I.O., A.L.P. and some of the A. F. of L. unions have been conducting a campaign to send application cards for State War Ballots to the men in the armed forces. This must continue until every soldier is reached. We are informed that the C.I.O. Council has already disposed of 800,000 such cards; but according to the *Daily Worker* only some 15,000 New York City boys have thus far applied for war ballots. This means that we dare not let up on this campaign and that a few million such application cards will have to be circulated if every serviceman is to be reached.

A problem having an important bearing on the elections and deserving close study is the wartime shift of population. From 1940 to 1943, the industrial workers in the State of New York increased by close to a million, with slightly more than 50 per cent of these in the upstate communities. When, in addition, we consider the large numbers of draftees from industry who have been replaced by raw and new workers, one can safely assume that there are at least a million and a half new industrial workers in this state.

This has been brought about by a shift of population from the rural communities to the industrial ones, while new industrial centers have sprung into existence over night.

The Nassau-Suffolk Long Island Community has had the most rapid relative industrial expansion. In 1940 there were but 2,376 industrial workers in these two countries; in 1943 there were 67,224! We can imagine the change that has taken place in the outlook of scores of thousands of people as a result of this development; a change, not alone in the mentality of those who work in the new industrial plants, but also of the small businessmen and the professionals who depend upon labor's purchasing power for their well-being. We can also imagine the immensity of the problem that this community will face in the period of reconversion. Grappling with this problem now, as something of common not only to labor but to the whole community, can influence the votes of thousands of traditional Republican voters.

At this point we are concerned only with emphasis on both the opportunity and the danger inherent in this shift of population and social composition.

The opportunity lies in the fact that more than a million people, coming from many different walks of life and communities, are learning the discipline of labor, many coming for the first time in contact with labor unions and forming a vital connection between the worker in the factory and the toiler on the land. In places like Schenectady, hundreds of new industrial workers continue to maintain their status as farmers, actually driving from farm to plant every day.

On the other hand, the danger lies in the fact that too large a percentage of these workers are not yet in unions or even in contact with them; many of them still operating as Pegler germ carriers. Also, the educational and political activities of the unions, particularly those upstate, are exceptionally weak, and it is hard to judge what percentage

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of even these new union members have been ideologically absorbed into the labor movement.

What is done, therefore, to organize and to educate these workers, what is done to register and enroll them, may prove to be decisive for the state as a whole. Where a real job is done, there are possibilities for changing the political complexion of many out-of-town counties, just as the education and registration of the new industrial workers in Martin Dies' district did the trick there. Our upstate organization must open its eyes to these new perspectives.

The radio, the newspapers, the trade union press, the pamphlet, leaflet, and sticker; and, above all, shop committees and house-to-house canvassing, are the guarantees of a maximum registration and enrollment. Central registration offices, open now in all parts of the state, as also in New York City, should be taken advantage of by all sorts of organized groups, particularly shop and trade union organizations. Let us remember: The elections can be lost during registration time!

* * *

Fellow delegates: Our new Communist organization has been formed in the most fateful hour in the history of our country and of mankind. We are witnessing the death of the old world and the birth of the new. The great climactic battles raging with such ferocity are but the midwife of the freer and better world.

But at this moment the keynote is struggle. The issue is not yet decided. This is no time for anything but concentration on the job ahead. What is needed today in greater measure than ever—is understanding, resoluteness, and vigilance, coupled with an all-consuming love for country and humanity and a burning hatred for their enemies.

The Communist Political Association will be judged by its fellowmen and by history on how it meets the gruelling test of the coming months. We Marxists have a great responsibility. We must bring the issues to the people with a simplicity and clarity that will dispel the fog of reactionary confusion. We must be an example to our neighbors and fellow-workers, always maintaining that self-discipline, intelligence, modesty, and courage which have been the distinguishing mark of a Communist in every part of the world.

President Roosevelt was asked the other day when he had first learned the invasion time. "At Teheran," was his reply. Yes, Teheran represents the turning point of our epoch. The opening of the Second Front has fully confirmed our estimate of the Teheran Conference—so profoundly analyzed by Earl Browder—and fulfilled its most important decision on the scope and timing of combined military operations. The great invasion is, therefore, the guarantee, not alone of victory in the war, but of the successful realization of the entire Teheran perspective—of a durable and lasting peace and a world of greater freedom and prosperity for all.

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COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

(Report on behalf of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party to the Communists of the District of Algiers, April 11, 1944.)

BY ANDRE MARTY

Why the Communists Entered the Government

IT IS a week now since two Communists have been members of the Provisional Government of the French Republic. This has happened for the first time in the glorious history of our Communist Party, in other words, the first time in nearly a quarter of a century.

This fact indicates the exceptional gravity of present circumstances.

Indeed, during these weeks and the weeks that lie ahead, the fate of the French nation is being determined.

Once the great battle for liberation begins, that is, the national insurrection which General de Gaulle has declared was a prerequisite of national liberation, the future of our people will be safeguarded.

For the French people are not alone. They can count upon the support of their Allies in their national insurrection. They can count upon the tremendous support they have already received through the epic and uninterrupted victories of the Red Army, typified by two names which will henceforth be synonymous with heroism and the art of war—Stalingrad and Odessa. And the national insurrection of France can also count upon all the peoples of Europe who are daily intensifying their resistance to the Hitler hangmen.

It is not mere chance that, since October, *L'Humanité* has been constantly recalling the example of Corsica and Yugoslavia.

On the other hand, if a policy of procrastination were to persist, our nation risks being crushed and held in bondage, in one way or another, for a half a century.

Such a policy consists, among other things, of not arming those who are fighting in France and

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arming those who do not fight and hold on to their arms for shameful purposes directed against the French people instead of using them against the enemy. The Central Committee on French soil has denounced this state of affairs.

The policy of procrastination expresses itself in Algiers by continually delaying the unification and the growth of the new French army, and by hindering the development of the war effort and war morale.

This policy also takes the form of maintaining the abominable and more or less devious anti-Communist campaign. For example, when the Communists entered the government did not the entire Algerian press try to present it as a "defeat" for the delegation of the Central Committee by falsely asserting that the Communist Cabinet members had been "chosen on the outside" and had not been appointed in agreement with the Party?

It is to save the nation, to develop every form of struggle against the enemy, against the traitors in their service, against the procrastinators, that is: the fifth columnists, the cowards and the overcautious that the Communists entered the government.

This point was made very clearly by Jacques Duclos, secretary of the French Communist Party, writing on behalf of the Central Committee in the Paris *L'Humanité*, December 5, 1943:

". . . the interest of France demands that the Communist Party have representation in the French Committee of National Liberation."

The sole reason for our participation is to help rally all French forces who want to fight for the liberation of our country, to defend its freedom and provide for its future welfare.

We enter the government at a time chosen by us.

That is why in October 1943, upon explicit instructions from the Central Committee, we made every effort to enter the French National Committee of Liberation. We thus expressed the will of patriots in France engaged in an unparalleled struggle, whereby demonstrations and strikes were linked with sabotage and armed battle. We sought to hasten the formation of a government in Algiers that would reflect the splendid unity of the Committees of Liberation being set up at that time, such as the Paris and Rhone Committees.

Today, in view of the scope of the new battle of France, the strengthening of national unity, concretely demonstrated by the Committees of Liberation springing up throughout France, in plants and villages, in offices and large cities, no one could justify the absence of Communists in the French National Committee of Liberation.

It would have given the French people clear evidence of the power of the anti-patriotic trusts in Algiers: that is why we entered the government at a time chosen by us, when our people had achieved national unity in day-to-day struggle.

The Communists are not responsible for the delay in entering the government.

This statement can easily be

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proved by the last communiqué of the Central Committee. First, it took note of General de Gaulle's statement of November 8 expressing agreement on the war program which the Central Committee made an indispensible condition of our participation in the government.

Today, the statement of Francois Billoux and Fernand Grenier, is identical with the November one:

"We will work resolutely and unitedly with all the members of the government:

"1. To use all the resources of France and her Empire to build a powerful anti-Hitler army on land, on sea and in the air, and to arm the patriots in France.

"2. To punish all traitors and saboteurs.

"3. To develop a democratic and social policy that would inspire all French forces and arouse enthusiasm for the war of liberation.

"4. To pursue a policy of unity between France and her Empire by understanding and satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the native peoples.

"5. To develop the role of France in the United Nations on the basis of the independence and restoration of our country, through maximum participation of the French in the Allied struggle."

Thus, the statement made by our comrades on October 5, 1943, acting on instructions from the Central Committee, is the exact replica of the program to which General de Gaulle agreed on Oovember 8, 1943.

We had not received a reply to our November statement. Since then, we have repeatedly declared that we were prepared to participate on the conditions stipulated by our leadership in Paris who are face to face with the enemy and therefore are in the best position to know the problems involved.

On March 18, 1944, General de Gaulle, Chairman of the F.N.C.L., made an appeal for greater national unity at a meeting of the Consultative Assembly. We immediately responded through Francois Billoux that we were ready to participate in the government, but naturally on the conditions set forth by our Central Committee.

The next day, the people of Algiers, at a meeting in tribute to "Paris of the Commune and Resistance," clearly expressed themselves for the immediate arming of the patriots on French soil, the prompt formation of a single national army, and the participation of the Communists in the Provisional Government.

We immediately supported these demands of the people of Algiers by a letter and delegations to General de Gaulle. We clearly specified on what basis we were prepared to participate. The entrance of Francois Billoux and Fernand Grenier into the government, their joint statement and the statement by the delegation of the Central Committee, prove that our efforts were not in vain. We entered the government on the terms stipulated by our Party.

In November, the pretext given for our non-participation was that the selection of Communist representatives was not to be made by the Communist Party but by General de Gaulle.

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It is obvious—and certain delegates in the Assembly made it quite clear—that this was an attempt to keep out of the government the deputies released from the Maison-Carree prison. On the other hand, the Central Committee sent us a telegram in November to the effect that our delegates were to be chosen from just this group. The purpose of the Fifth Column was clear. To eliminate the Communist deputies jailed for forty months was to cast suspicion on them. In other words, this attitude was the exact counterpart of the infamous enemy-controlled campaign conducted by Vichy, pretending to distinguish between "resisting" Communists and "non-resisting" Communists. As if they did not constitute one single solid bloc.

The delegation of the Central Committee made its position very clear. When they found that General de Gaulle had accepted Billoux as a delegate, they did not hesitate to take responsibility for also choosing Fernand Grenier who had come from France. Why? Because Francois Billoux, a member of the Political Bureau, was from the very first the leader of the continuous struggle carried on by the imprisoned deputies. At the military tribunal, where the traitors preparing to sell out France had sent them, it was Billoux who read the statement of the falsely accused deputies. The statement has remained valid to this day. It was Billoux who led the struggle of our brave deputies. They were subjected to physical and mental torture, but they came out of prison with heads high, rejecting the compromise offered them after the Allied landing, which promised to free them from jail provided they would declare in writing never to engage in politics again.

General de Gaulle's acceptance of Billoux's appointment nullified the ban against our deputies who had remained faithful to their mandate and the people of France. That is why we unhesitatingly accepted General de Gaulle's proposal that we designate as second delegate one of our comrades recently arrived from France, Fernand Grenier.

Grenier immediately demonstrated the close, unbreakable solidarity of all Communists, not only in this joint statement with Billoux, but by giving the post of Under-Secretary to Jacques Gresa, Paris deputy, pilot in the war and veteran of the First World War.

Under what conditions do we enter the government?

First of all, we enter on a specific program determined by us. Billoux's and Grenier's statement coincides with the directives we received from the Central Committee in Paris on October 5, 1943.

We are actually the only ones to enter the government on the basis of a clear-cut program capable of rallying all Frenchmen excepting the traitors. How we regret that this cannot also be said for the representatives of other democratic parties, at a moment when the President of the Radical-Socialist Party, that great patriot Edouard Herriot, has been interned in an insane asylum, as a result of the infamous treatment inflicted upon him

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by the Nazis and the traitors in their service.

Further, the joint statement of the two Communist delegates declares:

"We will act in the interests of fighting France, which demands arms in order to fight better and prepare the national insurrection that will be the basis for national liberation.

"We will act in the interests of fighting France, which demands for its liberation the formation in North Africa of a powerful army on land, on sea and in the air.

"We will act in the interests of fighting France, which will demand the full exercise of its sovereignty after its liberation.

". . . In our participation in the Provisional Government, we, as well as the whole government, remain under the permanent and vigilant control of the French people."

Here again, we are the only ones who enter the government with the statement that we submit ourselves to the permanent and vigilant control of the people.

Finally, our two delegates entered the government as *representatives of our Party.*

Here again, we are the only ones who are acting in strict accordance with the most elementary rules of democracy.

Jacques Duclos wrote in the aforesaid declaration, in *L'Humanité:*

"True democracy requires control of the people's representatives by their constituents. It is not by eliminating the control exercised by groups over their members, but by enforcing it that we shall avoid the recurrence of those customs which have done France so much harm. If each group feels responsible for its membership, it will advance only men of integrity, devotion and honesty. Men like Georges Bonnet, who was held in contempt by his own Radical colleagues, will no longer be able to rise to power through shady machinations."

For the so-called "individual autonomy" in the defunct Third Republic served merely as a screen to hide the infiltration into the government of individuals with nefarious aims, representatives of "coalitions of interests and privileges who too often endangered the Republic by opposing all social progress and harboring foreign interests."

Against the interests of the nation, these men conspired to serve various cliques—the clique of the Comité des Forges, the Richemond and Schneider cliques who brought France to disaster and then made profits out of her defeat in their abominable treachery by arming the enemy and delivering to the S.S. murderers the workers and engineers who sabotage production for Hitler.

On the other hand, the Communist slogan for national unity can achieve maximum results. Our slogan is: "France, only France!"

This thought will be expressed by our comrades in the government. Thus, our participation does not involve a man or a group of men. It involves our whole great Communist Party, leading the struggle against the invader and the traitors, our great Communist Party which prides itself on being considered enemy No. 1 by the Nazis and all

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those who serve them directly or indirectly.

That is why our participation strengthens the Provisional Government, which has the difficult task of mobilizing all forces to hasten the end of the war and thus the liberation of France.

The Effect of Communist Participation

Considerable strengthening of the government is therefore the first result of Communist participation.

For, by making all Communists take responsibility with our two delegates, our Party contributes three essential elements to the achievement of national liberation.

First, it contributes a clear analysis of the prerequisites of liberation. This was elaborated through the great work of the Communist Party on French soil. The problem is to concentrate all forces to hasten the national insurrection by making ready for it through acts of increasing scope, from women's demonstrations for bread and milk for their children to great strikes hitting at the heart of the Hitler bandits, backed up by sabotage and armed battles.

It is in struggle, and only in struggle that a national insurrection can be prepared. It cannot be achieved through the demoralizing process of waiting. Such an attitude is only the extension of the "hold-back" policy that grows more nefarious each day, since it is used by the enemy to deport French men and women, to break up and destroy patriotic organization. *Each day that passes without intensifying the struggle is therefore a day that works against us, against the liberation of France.*

Our Party's second contribution to the government is our clear concept of national unity, which can alone help our people fulfill its gigantic tasks.

A Tunis newspaper declared, after the two Communist delegates were appointed: "A national front has been set up." This is mistaken and doubly so. First, because the national front did not wait until the Communists entered the government before it was achieved in France. It came into existence in May, 1941, on French soil as a result of our Party's initiative in the famous and historic Manifesto of May 15, 1941, calling for:

". . . unity of the Nation for the sacred cause of national independence, with the purpose of forming a broad national liberation front.

"With the one thought of achieving national unity for the sacred cause of national independence, the Communist Party subordinates everything to the interest of the nation and solemnly declares that for the achievement of a broad national liberation front, it is ready to support all men whose efforts will be directed toward real struggle against the national oppression of France and against the traitors in the service of the invader."

It was a logical development of the appeal of the Central Committee in early July, 1940, in *L'Humanité*, signed by Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos:

"Suffering France wants to live free and independent. A great peo-

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ple like ours will never be a people of slaves. . . .

"It is in the people that can be found the great hopes of national and social liberation. And it is around the working class, ardent and generous, full of confidence and courage, that will be built a front of liberty, independence and rebirth for France."

The very comparison of the composition of the F.N.C.L. and the Paris Committee of Liberation, for example, shows how much effort is still required to transform the Provisional Government into a *true government of national unity.*

Besides the small representation of our Party, completely out of proportion with its strength and influence in France, it is regrettable that there is no representation of the Confederation Generale de Travaille,* that is the trade union organization whose members total 97 per cent of those shot by the Nazis in France.

Also regrettable is the fact that there is not a single representative of the National Fighting Front, which is the most powerful resistance organization on French soil. The National Front's armed forces —the Franc-Tireurs and partisans of France who have been issuing communiqués for over thirty months—*have as many men and women in their combat and auxiliary forces as the new French army in North Africa.*

It is also regrettable that the government has no representatives of the United Youth Forces grouping all youth organizations, Catholics, Communists, and Protestants. For all of them are part of the masses on French soil who "resist service for Germany"; in other words, they are soldiers of the *new French army in France.*

When the C.G.T., the National Fighting Front, and the United Youth Forces, among others, are represented in the government, then will it be a much truer expression of the *sentiments and united French forces fighting on French soil.*

One thing is unquestionable. Communist participation enormously strengthens the authority and prestige of the Provisional Government. The yelpings from Vichy prove it. The Hitler beast screams because it is hard hit. Therefore the general effort to liberate France will be intensified. And that alone is of importance to us.

No Illusions But Intensified Efforts

However, as was pointed out by the delegation of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party in North Africa:

"It would be of mortal danger to believe that this development will eliminate the obstacles and difficulties on the road to the liberation of France.

"The road is a hard one. The greatest efforts, the decisive battles are yet to come."

First, we must never forget that the enemy, Hitler fascism, is still powerful and determined. It is not its intention to die, and even less, to commit suicide. We shall have to fight, and fight hard, to crush it.

Secondly, if the enemy is savage and ruthless, he is also wily. He has

* General Confederation of Labor—the Editors.

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already shown how he can develop, or attempt to develop, the spirit of procrastination in France. His aim is clear—drag things out, wear out the overburdened people and save the horrible Nazi regime, by a compromise disguised as a sort of Darlanism. His plan is to maintain the unpatriotic trusts who helped build up Hitlerism and prepared the betrayal of France. The continued anti-Communist campaign within certain resistance organizations in France, and even in Algiers, shows how grave this danger is.

Furthermore, as Etienne Fajon pointed out on March 19, on behalf of the Delegation of the Central Committee:

"Too many agents of the treacherous trusts still meet behind the doors of many ministries."

The 200 families, with their Richemonds and Schneiders are still there. Unable to prevent the entrance of Communists into the government, they declare quite openly that they intend to strangle them inside of it.

Does not that explain why only one of the notorious traitors of France has been brought to trial so far?

There is more. Despite the most solemn promises, the right of the French people to decide its own destiny is already being questioned. On April 2, the press published the text of a ruling dated March 4 regarding the exercise of civil and military authority on French soil after the liberation. This ruling, made public after the recess of the Assembly, sets up for the liberated territories a "French AMGOT" type of administration giving a few men full power and control over civil and military affairs. They are given unlimited authority under the provisions of the state of siege and, as of now, "are in charge—from the outside—of the command of the resistance forces and determine their movements."

One has reason to be disturbed at the fact that the Consultative Assembly was not consulted on so serious a ruling; one that is so contrary to national sovereignty, and if applied without considering the opinion of qualified representatives of the resistance forces, might seriously endanger national sovereignty.

Finally, the basic question of unifying the national army has not yet been solved. Quite the contrary. The elimination of the post of Commander-in-Chief of the French army was presented in such a way by the Algiers press that it aroused serious misgivings among all patriots. Radio Algiers even claimed that the President of F.N.C.L. had taken over full civil and military authority "as is the custom in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R." Everyone knows that President Roosevelt does not actually conduct military operations. As for Marshal Stalin, Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army, he is the supreme commander, but he presides over the Council of Peoples' Commissars, responsible as a group and individually to the deputies elected by direct, secret ballot of all citizens.

Then Radio Goebbels in Vichy hastened to take the opportunity to present the elimination of the post of Commander-in-Chief of the

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French Army as the result of the Communists' participation in the government. As a matter of fact, it was Billoux who, on behalf of the Party, defined our concept of the attributes of the Minister of War and the Commander-in-Chief, applying the elementary democratic principle of the separation of powers, as illustrated by the respective positions of Clemenceau and Foch in 1918.

All patriots warmly approved No. 2,945 of October 6, 1943, made by the Commander-in-Chief and published by the underground press in France. It ordered all discharged officers and soldiers in France, including reserve officers, to consider themselves mobilized. They were ordered not to leave France for North Africa unless explicitly called. The order concluded:

"Any soldier asked to join a resistance organization who fails to respond, will be stricken from the army rolls."

It is a fact that the fifth column lost no time. Four days after the appointment of the Communist Cabinet members, the big landowners who grew rich in supplying the enemy during the two years of Vichy regime, began to utter threats. Actually they are chiefly responsible for our food shortage. These people who make France an object of hatred by their treatment of the Moslem people can well be threatening! As yet not a single traitor who served the enemy has been indicted in North Africa. Some of the "internees" even get permission to make regular trips to Casablanca and Algiers where they collect the income from their treason and plot against the security of France.

It would therefore be extremely dangerous to believe that Communist participation in the government will automatically eliminate the obstacles and difficulties on the road leading to the liberation of France. To believe that the two Communist Cabinet members can instantly change things would be a serious mistake. Having lost a round, the fifth column will redouble its efforts to attack national unity. It would be equally false to say that nothing can be done within the F.N.C.L. because it is not yet a true national unity government. The very fact that the Communists could enter the government despite the pressure of the Fifth Column is in itself a guarantee that we can work effectively to rally all resources and energies to liberate France.

Such a task requires the broadest possible support for the war measures of the government. This means that only the support of the masses of people can defeat the destructive forces and obtain substantial results in the struggle for France.

We must be encouraged by the present position of the National Council of Resistance. When it was first formed, it was very hesitant about the development of the armed struggle. Today this is the foundation of its activity and demands help from Algiers to develop it.

This example shows that honest Frenchmen can always be induced to take the right road, provided the

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people of France and the people of the over-seas territory express their will.

Let us therefore have no illusions! Let us not hope that the struggles of an active Communist can be replaced by a lazy life of a bureaucratic parasite. Communist participation in the government demands new efforts, new sacrifices for all Party members and all those who support our activities.

The New Duties of the Communists

We are not concerned that certain people, who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing, try at this time to reopen old discussions on the question of national defense and participation in government.

Every militant person must understand that Communists do not enter *any* government nor do they do so without conditions.

For example, the Communists did not enter the 1940 "phony war" government which pursued a pro-Hitler and anti-Soviet policy and waged war against the French working class and its most active members in the interest of the enemy.

We do not enter a government with anybody at all to serve the purposes of the masters of France who reduced her to slavery under the trusts. In the words of Marx, such an act would indicate "parliamentary cretinism," of which the Communists have never been guilty.

We Communists enter a government on a concrete program, clearly defined in the five points of the joint statement of Comrades Billoux and Grenier.

We enter the government for a definite purpose: to liberate France as quickly as possible by the armed forces of the new French army, the patriots on French soil, and the French units in the liberated territories.

We enter, not as isolated individuals, but as representatives chosen by the Party under the control of the people and calling upon all the people to help us carry out this program.

Thus, on entering the government, we call upon the people, not only not to relax their efforts, but to intensify them on the basis of our program of national liberation.

What is this program? It is the program set forth in the magnificent document published by our Central Committee in a million copies, under the nose of the Gestapo in France.

And this program is clear:

1. Liberate French soil from the invader.

2. Punish the traitors.

3. Guarantee the people of France the possibility of choosing their own government.

". . . The French Communist Party subordinates everything at this time to the strugle for the liberation of France and it neglects no opportunity to point out the harm done to the cause of national liberation by the elaborate plans of the procrastinators who speak freely of the future but do nothing to bring it closer."

The first tasks of the Communists resulting from our participation in the government are therefore:

1. Thoroughly to know and understand our program.

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That means increasing the circulation of our press and documents to enlighten all the French people on the best method of rapidly liberating our homeland.

2. From all indications, the activity and sabotage of the Fifth Column will increase, not only against the Communist Ministers, but against the whole government.

It is therefore important to develop popular action to stop this sabotage and break the paralysis created by the agents of the unpatriotic trusts.

This requires, first, that every Communist must be the best guide to the trade union workers essential to production, transportation and the food supply. At the same time, he must see to it that the workers' legitimate demands are satisfied, since they are the core of the war effort.

That particularly requires building understanding and close unity for the war effort among French and Moslem workers.

Secondly, it is imperative to exert greater efforts to raise the fighting morale of the North African people —agricultural workers, Khames, Fellahs, artisans — in order to achieve higher production. At the same time, this requires raising the living standards of the Moslem masses and thus giving them a picture of the real France for whom their sons are dying on the Italian front and for whom they will fight tomorrow on French soil.

Thirdly, it is necessary to increase the activity of Fighting France (called National Front in Corsica); this patriotic organization must be strengthened by enrolling in its ranks the small patriotic and Republican settlers who have nothing in common with the feudal, fascist landowners of North Africa.

And, fourthly, it is essential to consider the problem of our youth who will have to rebuild France and North Africa. French and Moslem youth must be drawn into action and united, as they are in France.

In North Africa, Corsica and elsewhere, there are French men and women, who are intensely preoccupied with the problem of liberating France. There are young people who burn with the desire to grapple with the beasts who murder our people. There are hundreds of thousands of loyal friends of France among the peoples of the Empire. For to them, France does not consist of the Peyroutons, or the Chatels. France to them is the country that looked after them when they worked on French soil and had sympathy for their suffering. It is the country that fights to improve their lot— the France worthy of her great people.

That is why we were pleased with the many congratulatory telegrams sent to Francois Billoux and Fernand Grenier. How much happier we should all have been if these congratulations could have been addressed to the General Secretary of our party, Maurice Thorez, who is still being kept from coming to Algiers. How much better they could have been addressed to our glorious Central Committee who have withstood savage terror for nearly four years and wage such a successful struggle against the

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enemy, as well as determine a political line which will go down in our history as one of the finest pages in our nation's thinking.

Further, an essential condition in successfully rallying all forces to the struggle for liberty, is the systematic and intensive building of the Communist Party in North Africa and Corsica. For our Party is everywhere the dynamo of action and unity in action of all patriots without distinction of creed or religion, of all Frenchmen and colonial peoples without distinction of race or religion, in the struggle against Hitlerism for freedom.

This requires opening wide the doors of our Party to the poorest, most underprivileged sections of the people: workers, peasants, artisans, intellectuals—the real ones, not the pseudo-intellectuals. But we must close our doors to those who want to get into our Party for personal ends. . . .

We want to have in our Party the miners of Kenadsa and Kouif, the phosphate miners, the railway workers and stevedores, the merchant seamen. And along with them we want the Khames and the Fellahs. And while we are still proud and happy to welcome professors, engineers and doctors, pseudo-intellectuals hunting for sinecures and other opportunists must understand that they have no place in our ranks. We are not a party of patronage. We are a Party of virile and unselfish action in the service of France.

We want in our Party fresh blood seething with enthusiasm and faith.

We must see to it that our Party organization functions smoothly. On the basis of our democratic centralism, higher bodies are responsible to their members and have the right and duty to make decisions, without waiting, on the basis of the Party's general policy.

The smooth functioning of the Party also requires the greatest discipline, freely accepted but strict, patterned on discipline in France as described in the Manifesto of the Central Committee in July, 1943:

"Communist discipline is the same for all. Democratic control by the membership of the activity of the leadership as practiced in normal times, has been replaced by quasi-military discipline in the present period of merciless struggle for the liberation of our country. *No exception will be made for any member whatsoever if he does not carry out the task assigned to him.*"

Now that the Communists are in the government, *vigilance is more necessary than ever before.* Political and organizational discipline both. There is no doubt that the enemy will try to distort our Party policy. The enemy will try to send in spies. Let us therefore beware of the intoxication of success.

If the military, technical and professional cadres directing the great victorious struggle of the Soviet peoples now have proved to be so magnificent it is because on March 3, 1937, Marshal Stalin warned the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.:

"We must do away with the opportunist mildness that is based on the false notion that the stronger we become, the tamer and less

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dangerous the enemy. This concept is basically wrong. What we need is not mildness, but vigilance, real revolutionary Bolshevik vigilance. We must not forget that the more desperate our enemies' situation becomes, the more they will resort to extreme measures as the only recourse left to people doomed to destruction in their struggle against the Soviet power. We must remember this and be vigilant. . . . *We must make our party an impregnable fortress* where no double-faced man can penetrate."

We must also be attentive to the *choice of forces* in two ways: give responsibility first through verifying their political integrity; second, through verifying their competence in a specific job.

Above all, we must check periodically on the manner in which they are carrying out the tasks assigned to them. Checking on the execution of decisions is the greatest rule in building the Communist Party.

Finally, the welfare of the Party, and the unity of the Party in the interests of the people are henceforth a question of life or death. It is not mere chance that the enemy attempts maneuvers against one or another member at regular intervals. They do not realize that the prestige of our Central Committee has enjoyed the unanimous support of our membership for many years. The Communists form an indissoluble unit. And now more and more Frenchmen, who yesterday were very far from us, recognize that our Party alone was correct and that we have men among us who do not hesitate to sacrifice their lives to great patriotic decisions.

The Hour of Combat

Thus the participation of two Communist Party members in the government is an appeal to every Communist, to each Party organization and the Party as a whole to redouble their efforts to match the political and organizational ability, the spirit of decision and heroism of our comrades in France.

Time is short. France calls for help. On February 28, 1944, the National Council of Resistance made public its program, from which we quote:

"While demanding that the F.N.C.L. secures arms for the patriots in France, the National Council of Resistance recognizes that the French resistance movement must either fight or perish. We declare that the French will not and cannot be satisfied with passive resistance while awaiting help from the outside. They want to wage war and develop armed resistance to the point of national insurrection, in accord with political and military circumstances.

"The glorious example of the Corsican patriots demonstrates that insurrection can precede Allied landings and make an effective contribution to their success.

"The National Council of Resistance has therefore decided to invite the High Command of the Internal French Forces (all armed patriots combined) minutely to prepare cooperation with the Allies when they land:

"(a) To order all their groups to fight the enemy *now* by attacking

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enemy troops, disrupting communications and war production and capturing stores of arms and ammunition to supply the unarmed patriots.

"(b) To distribute unused arms to groups able to fight now.

"(c) To coordinate military action with all forms of resistance carried on by the masses of the people."

The best support we can give the Provisional Government in which the Communists now participate is to speed up the war effort through all possible means.

The responsibility of every Communist is therefore enormous now. For the time has come to carry out the directives of our glorious Central Committee and our comrades in France. *Noblesse oblige.* The Belgian magazine *The Messenger of Liberty,* published in London, wrote in January of this year:

"War is revealing. False glory fades. True glory shines.

"Thus, during the war, many people have come to know what the Communists are like. Many of our middle class peoples were instinctively suspicious of elements whom they liked to believe to be troublemakers and windbags—

"And then they saw how perfectly disciplined they were, that the windbags would not talk, even when tortured. Underground work has finally revealed what treasures of heroism they possess."

The time has come for each Party member to be inspired by the Soviet example cited in *L'Humanité* of December 1, 1943:

"Everywhere Communists are demonstrating their courage, abnegation, discipline and organizational ability. In the Red Army the Communists are in the front lines. The proof of the prestige of the Party in the army lies in the growing number of soldiers who are joining. Before going to battle, officers and soldiers request the honor of joining the Party." (Mitin, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.)

Political clarity and firmness, organizational spirit, complete self-sacrifice of Communists—these are the factors in the victories of the Soviet Union, under the guidance of the government led by Marshal Stalin.

That is how the French and Algerian comrades will fulfill their duty. That is how they will translate into actions the last words of one of France's greatest heroes, Gabriel Peri. A few minutes before he was killed by Nazi bullets he wrote:

"I have remained faithful to my life-long ideal. I am going to die so that France may live. . . .

"Vaillant-Couturier said that Communism is the youth of humanity and that it prepares the singing tomorrows of song.

"Soon I shall help prepare the singing tomorrows."

Through our efforts, through our action against the enemy and his hirelings, the time has come to prepare that future of song!

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CHARTING OUR PATH IN WAR AND PEACE

*A review of Earl Browder's "Teheran—Our Path in War and Peace"**

BY WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

AT THIS great moment in the War of the United Nations, signalized by the epic invasion of Europe, America is fortunate indeed that it has men like Earl Browder who can think straight and think deeply. His new book, *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace*, forces this conclusion on every reader who has the nation's interests at heart and who honestly seeks to find solutions to the most complex problems America has ever faced in war and in peace.

The foremost spokesman of the American Communist movement throws a brilliant searchlight on these problems which illuminates the path to their solution with the incisive clarity we have come to expect from the author of *Victory—And After*. Browder's new book ranks with its predecessor in clear thinking, in penetrating Marxist analysis, and in characteristically popular presentation which speaks eloquently and convincingly to the millions. It will help to raise America's level of understanding of the fateful issues which will determine the future of our country and of the entire world.

Browder's central theme is that the compact reached between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at Teheran assures victory in the war and lays the basis for an enduring peace in a democratic world. Taking this as a starting point, the book proceeds to examine the problems of the anti-fascist coalition in the war and post-war world, and outlines an approach to their solution based on the common interests of all the United Nations and all classes within each nation.

Teheran marks a turning-point in history, the implications of which must be fully understood. It "represents a firm and growing *common interest* between the leaders who gathered there, their governments, the ruling classes they represent, and the peoples of the world" (p. 15). It is the opposite of Munich, and "cancels finally and forever" that policy which "condemned the world to its present ordeal of fire."

* International Publishers, New York, 1944. 128 pp. Cloth $1.50, paper 35c.

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Hitler, in his own way, has given confirmation of the full significance of the Teheran Declaration. He realizes that it spells his doom and the destruction of all he stands for. He is now playing his last cards with the threat that his defeat will result in "social collapse," in "economic catastrophe," and in new world war among the nations of the victorious coalition. Those who echo these threats in our country are feeding Hitler's last desperate hopes to cancel the Teheran Concord, or to prevent its fulfillment. To those skeptics who have "reservations" regarding Teheran, this should have a sobering effect. The conclusion cannot be escaped that all who have such reservations, whether "Right" or "Left" and for whatever motive, are playing into the hands of Hitler and his helpers in the United States.

Browder drives home the point again and again that the three-power compact is not a temporary military or political expedient but a fundamental and long-term policy, corresponding to the interests of each and all of the three great powers as well as of all freedom-loving nations, which will shape the future of the world for many generations. No military agreement for full coalition warfare could be reached without such a basic understanding for political and economic collaboration. Military necessity, in the shape of a common enemy threatening them, brought the three powers together for common military action; but a larger necessity impelled them to agree on a common world policy to safeguard the victory on the battlefield. Neither a military nor political agreement could stand alone without the other. As Teheran is now being fulfilled on the battlefields of Europe, it must also be realized in safeguarding victory as much as in guaranteeing victory.

The Teheran concord represents a compromise for the sake of a joint world policy which is in the mutual interest of America, Britain, and the Soviet Union, and of all nations. It bridges the former division between the capitalist and socialist countries of the anti-Hitler camp, thus preventing the recurrence of the basic conditions which made the rise of Hitlerism possible. It finds those points of agreement on which all freedom-loving people can unite for the reconstruction of the world order of nations on a democratic basis without which none could preserve their vital interests.

Browder lashes out at those cynics who see the Teheran agreement as a "horse-trading" deal in which each tried to drive a better bargain. If this were true, America and the world could not escape the tragic consequences. "The greatness of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin at Teheran," Browder observes, "was shown in the fact that they all operated on the higher level of statesmanship which searches for and finds the *common interest* which can be advanced by *joint action*, without any suspicion arising that one is trying to gain advantage at the expense of the others" (p. 31).

* * *

The policy outlined at the Moscow and Teheran conferences opens

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the way for the democratic peoples' forces in Europe to participate fully in the war of national liberation, with each nation free to determine its own future after victory is won. The reactionary fetters which bound them will have to be swept away to make way for democratic regimes based on the desires of the people. In each country, groups and leaders will be judged by their contribution to the war of liberation. It is on this basis, without any attempt to impose upon them any form of government other than that of their own free choice, that the leading powers of the anti-Hitler Coalition are according to them greater recognition and support.

All conflicting ideological differences must be subordinated to the supreme task of building anti-fascist unity in each country against the common enemy. The democratic coalition must include all who participate in the war against Hitler and his agents, and the shaping of each country's future will require the resolving of differences through the democratic channels of free discussion, free political association and universal suffrage. The Communists of necessity must be accepted fully in the camp of democratic forces in each country, on the same basis as any other group or political tendency which contributes to victory in the liberation struggle.

Browder points to the developments since the Moscow and Teheran conferences as confirmation that this is a realistic perspective. A whole series of knotty political problems in Europe, which took on some threatening aspects before Teheran, are emerging from their tangled state and are well on the way to solution as a result of the joint policy agreed upon by the three great powers. This is strikingly illustrated in the application of that policy to the liberation forces in Yugoslavia, Italy and France (and more recently in Greece). The simple yardstick of determining who is fighting the fascist enemy, and identifying them as our friends and allies, served to resolve differences or subordinate them within the national liberation front in each country, from conservative to Communist, for the sake of the common cause.

As Browder points out, the same yardstick applied to the Polish situation cannot but resolve it in favor of the democratic forces as against the fascist clique in the Polish Government-in-Exile, which can no longer play one great power against another in the hope of getting a further lease on life for its own traitorous role. The destruction of Hitler fascism by the united action of the world coalition is destroying fascism everywhere, and thus the outline of a democratic Europe is rising as the pattern of the future. Here and there the forces representing the dying past refuse to give way to the reality of the present, but history is fast sweeping them aside. Of course, Teheran has not automatically solved all problems, but it has laid a basis for their solution on a solid foundation.

The reconstruction of a democratic Europe will also require a reconstitution of its economy. Browder observes that the system of interna-

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tional cartels in Europe was the main channel of Nazi penetration into country after country. It was an alliance of monopoly capital with political reaction including the rotten remnants of feudalism. The connections between some sections of British and American capital with these cartels influenced American and British policy to seek deals with Vichy France, Franco Spain, the Italian King, and the Balkan governments-in-exile, in the hope of taking over the cartel system. This whole framework must be dissolved, not only in the interests of democracy, but in order that Europe may participate on a new basis in the world market. "The sweeping away of all these relics of feudalism, which is the substance of the peoples' democratic revolution in Europe," says Browder, "is a necessary accompaniment of the smashing of Hitlerism, and will give rise unavoidably to the reconstitution of the European capitalist economy, including cartels, within an entirely new political and social framework" (p. 44).

* * *

One of the most thought-provoking chapters in Browder's book is that dealing with Asia. Browder points out that the Cairo Conference agreement between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Chiang Kai-shek, taken together with the Moscow and Teheran agreements, lays the basis for the military defeat of Japan, but that it is too limited in scope to give assurance of a stable peace in Asia. The chief obstacle to this assurance is the old colonial system. "A stable Asia," remarks Browder, "requires the rise of free and independent national states comprising all the principal peoples of the continent, and their inclusion into the main stream of world development, politically and economically."

Furthermore, the prospect of continuing the old colonial empires of the Western powers deters the peoples of Asia from fully participating in the struggle against Japan, as long as they see only the perspective of exchanging new masters for old. Thus, the war against Japan will be prolonged if we fail to enlist the colonial peoples as full and equal partners in the struggle for their own liberation. "Since the ultimate concession of national independence to the Asiatic peoples is inevitable, why not make that concession now when it will lift a considerable part of the Pacific war burden from our shoulders?" asks Browder. "Why not enlist Asia's teeming millions into the active struggle for their own liberation? Let the Eastern nations earn their independence in battle against Japan, as China is doing, and not be forced to earn it later in battle against us or associated powers" (p. 46).

This is a question vital to America's interests on economic as well as military grounds. America's postwar economy will need a tremendously expanded foreign market which poverty-stricken colonial countries cannot provide. The colonial system perpetuates their backwardness and retards industrialization. Only free nations can develop on a modern, industrialized basis

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which offers the kind of market we need to absorb our production. The British, however, will never give up their colonial monopoly as long as they fear that they cannot successfully compete with American capital on the world market. So long as there is no agreement on a sharing of the market with their American rivals, the British colonial system will be maintained, to the detriment of the peace and welfare of Asia, and, in the long run, of American and British interests as well.

Browder proposes that an economic and political concord between Britain and America be reached, with the participation of the Soviet Union, looking toward the stabilization of Asia. There must be agreement between Britain and America to "limit the play of free competition between them on the world market, within the framework of a certain guaranteed proportionate share to the economically weaker power." Such a political and economic concord would enlist the peoples of Asia as our active allies, pave the way for the democratization and modernization of their countries as free nations, and assure their peaceful development in a stable post-war world. It would apply the principles of Teheran to the Pacific.

The urgency of these problems which demand solution is best seen in China, Browder points out. The heroic resistance of the Chinese people is seriously undermined, at a moment of a renewed Japanese offensive, by the prolonged crisis in relations between the Chungking authorities and the Communists, marked by an armed truce which at times has broken into open battle. Chiang Kai-shek is using his best armies, equipped with our lend-lease aid, not against the Japanese, but to blockade the Communist-led armies which have done most of the fighting against the Japanese. No wonder the *New York Times* was compelled to swallow its own prejudices and say on May 14 that "the greatest aid which China can furnish to herself is to compose the differences between Chungking and the Communists." But we have the right and the duty to intervene, and help China to help herself, because our war effort in the Pacific is threatened until this crisis is resolved and unity achieved in China. The Moscow-Teheran yardstick applied to break similar deadlocks in Europe must be used to judge all forces in China, by their contribution to fighting the common enemy. America must use its influence to put an end to the anti-Communist phobia of the Kuomintang, fed by some American circles as well, and help bring about national unity in China without which the Japanese invaders cannot be defeated.

Browder gives a further reason for our concern over China. We are contributing not only lend-lease aid, but vast sums in the form of loans to stabilize China's currency, and we are going to make even bigger loans for industrialization of China after the war. Yet the Kuomintang regime operates with economic and political policies that will not develop China economically but continue to fetter her to feudal and semi-feudal forms, and obstruct her

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democratic development. Paradoxically, the Northwest Border Region under Communist leadership is pursuing a course which should appeal even to the narrowest self-interest of American capital, in that the Communist-led government's policies allow the rapid expansion of production and the raising of the economic level of the people, the accomplishment of which throughout China would provide the larger markets America is seeking. These economic considerations should be powerful factors in breaking down old prejudices, and contribute to the unification of China in war and peace.

The approach to Asia's problems serves also as a basis for the approach to the problems of Africa, the Near East, and Latin America, taking into account differences in relationships and the stage of development in each area under discussion. Browder's lucid arguments form a brilliant and convincing refutation of the oft-heard predictions of skeptics that the Teheran compact would founder on the rocks of contradictions and rivalries among the big powers which could only be settled by force. He has made a notable contribution of lasting value to Americans' understanding of the progressive role our country can and must play in world affairs.

* * *

It is becoming increasingly clear that one of the most vulnerable points in our wartime national unity is the widespread feeling that it will break up after the war into bitter class conflict. It is therefore not premature to consider the problems of post-war America now, even at the moment when we are engaging in our greatest military effort. If we can have some assurance that after victory the nation will not be torn by strife between warring classes, it will materially contribute to strengthening national unity in the war itself; it will strengthen the home front against the agents of disruption that are still desperately trying to create diversions to weaken our military blows against Hitler. Ever since Browder's report to the Communist National Committee in January, and in subsequent speeches and interviews, his discussion of perspectives for post-war America as a result of Teheran have become widely known and do not need repeating here. It will suffice to summarize briefly his analysis of the characteristics of American capitalism and its post-war prospects, as elaborated in his chapters on post-war national unity.

Since the overwhelming majority in the nation, of all classes and groups, including the Communists, are agreed on a perspective for a capitalist America in the post-war period of reconstruction, there is no issue or controversy over "free enterprise" when the term is understood as a synonym for capitalism. But Browder points out that American capitalists have made a fetish of their traditional concept of "free enterprise" and show a violent aversion to any form of state capitalism, a higher and stronger form of capitalist economy, which they classify as "socialism." The country could

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not be united around even a partial program of state capitalism such as is accepted as a matter of course in European countries, because it would meet the opposition and resistance of big capital in America.

Browder takes sharp issue with those liberals who talk loosely and loudly about the need to break up the monopolies and abolish cartels. This could only be accomplished by socialism, and in the absence of any immediate perspective for socialism such glib "trust-busting" slogans are a futile gesture to return to an earlier stage of capitalist development, and dangerous in their divisive effects on the country when national unity is so urgently needed. "The cold fact of the matter is this," he says, "that 'free enterprise' today in America means in practice the freedom of capital to concentrate and centralize itself in ever larger units, in the form of trusts, combines, and cartels, which constitute the highest development of monopoly" (p. 72).

We cannot undo this development, which has been tremendously accelerated in the war economy. But monopoly capital must be regulated and its worst abuses curbed, or we will head into a greater crisis than ever before. We must count on the fact that there are far-seeing men in the ranks of big capital who see the dangers of its unrestricted domination and will voluntarily accept government regulation in some degree, for their own good and that of the nation. These men belong in the democratic-progressive camp as allies of labor, seeing in the program of Teheran the possibilities for tremendous expansion of the American economy, integrated in the world economy, building on a rapidly-growing foreign and domestic market. The alternative would be chaos and class conflict, economic collapse and social convulsions, leading to new and more destructive wars. These are the economic and political compulsions that determine the attitude of a growing number of capitalists, who can become the decisive leaders of big capital, in support of a national unity program to realize the promise of Teheran.

When we convert to peacetime production, private enterprise will have to find ways and means of realizing the huge foreign market we shall need, or it will have to let the government take over the job to the degree that private enterprise fails. Browder suggests that the United States Government can create a number of large-scale industrial development corporations, in partnership with other governments, for great projects of post-war reconstruction, industrialization, and modernization throughout the world. These self-liquidating projects, launched with long-term credits, would not only be profitable investments but would bring even greater dividends in assuring world stability and peace based on economic security and well-being.

Likewise, private enterprise is faced with the necessity of creating a huge domestic market to absorb approximately half of our expanded production, or acknowledge that the government must assume the responsibility to do so. This involves no less than the doubling of the

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people's purchasing power, through raising wage levels and improved social legislation. This must become our national policy, enforced by the government, and not just the concern of the labor movement. "Our post-war economic problem is in the last analysis simply this," states Browder, "to expand the gullet of American consumption to the size of its productive capacity." The alternative is recognized by realistic advocates of "free enterprise," such as Mr. Beardsley Ruml, who is quoted as follows: "Many [businessmen] will go so far as to agree that unless mass unemployment can be eliminated under a system of private business enterprise, private business enterprise will be supplanted by some other arrangements for the production and distribution of goods and services"* (p. 84).

* * *

The test of any democracy is the degree of trade union participation in the influencing and shaping of national policy. The labor movement, which has made great strides forward as a political force in forging wartime national unity, is destined to play a still greater role in the nation's affairs in the post-war period. Labor has shown a sense of responsibility which can well stand comparison with that of any other group in the nation, by its no-strike policy, its production record, its stand for economic stabilization, and by its support of a United Nations coalition policy. A test of its full maturity will be its attitude toward post-war national unity.

Some liberal critics of Communist policy have accused Earl Browder of "betraying" the interests of labor because he does not call on the trade unions to prepare for battle against the capitalists, as do John L. Lewis, Dubinsky, Reuther, Norman Thomas, and the Trotskyites. Browder rejects the defeatist view that there must be a major class conflict, and points to the growing evidence that both labor and capital can agree on a common post-war program in the national interest. And he makes clear that in any event this does not weaken labor's position, but strengthens it. "If a major class struggle in America is really inevitable after the war, to disrupt our hopes of peace and prosperity, let it be clearly established before the world that the responsibility does not rest with labor but with labor's enemies. In my own humble opinion this course is both the best way to avoid the struggle if it is possible, and to prepare to win the struggle if that should prove necessary" (p. 78).

Browder warns the leaders of government and business that labor will have to be accepted on an equal footing in policy-making bodies, and that the adequate meeting of the wage problem to provide for the needs of the army of production must become a national aim of all classes if we are to achieve a prosperous economy in the post-war period. Labor's wartime experiences have not been altogether happy ones. Too often it has been shoved back into a subordinate position

* From an address before the American Retail Federation Annual Meeting, February 29, 1944.

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without any real voice in the making of policy. Too often has industry shaped government policy corresponding to the special interests of industry rather than to the general interest of the nation. Labor's greatest grievance has been in the handling of the wartime wage policy, which resulted in practical wage-freezing with all its inequities and without thought to the relation of wage-levels to prices. It is an urgent necessity for wartime national unity that the wage policy be reviewed and revised within the framework of economic stabilization. It would not only contribute to the war effort, but would pave the way for cooperation between labor and capital after the war.

* * *

Within the framework of national unity, there are vital democratic principles on which no compromise can be brooked. Hitler's poisonous ideology has seeped dangerously into American life, promoted by the agents of disunity and defeatism. We have already had some alarm signals to warn the nation to be vigilant. "The ideological threads of Hitler's doctrines acted like fuses to set off the explosion of hidden mines already existing in the American social structure," warns Browder. "It is not enough merely to prevent Hitler from exploding these mines now; we must also set ourselves the task of removing all fuses from these mines, and removing the mines themselves, so that they will not explode later on and destroy our post-war plans" (p. 92). He calls attention to three danger spots "which are fundamentally subversive to our democracy." They are the Jim-Crow system, the poll tax, and anti-Semitism. The hard necessities of war are breaking them down and forcing upon the attention of the nation the urgent need to root these cancers out of American life. Any argument that these issues must be soft-pedaled for the sake of national unity are nothing less than "political blackmail." We shall not have defeated and destroyed Hitlerism until we have banished the doctrine of "white supremacy" and all that it entails from our national life.

The anti-Communist phobia is another manifestation of the invasion of Hitler's ideology in our midst. The "Red scare" has proved to be his most useful weapon, as manipulated by Martin Dies and his dupes. The Communists have been denounced as "foreign agents" because they consistently and continuously advocated American-Soviet friendship as the keystone on which our foreign policy should be based. "What was wrong," asks Browder, "in proposing in 1938 that alliance which is now realized, and which if realized a few years earlier might well have prevented this war?"

This is an embarrassing question for some people to answer, so they run for cover behind the accusation that the Communists are concerned with Russia's interests, not America's, and that anyone who is "pro-Soviet" must be anti-American. The position taken by Attorney General Biddle, when he classifies Nazis and Communists alike as enemies, is one of putting the friends of our great-

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est ally in the same category with the friends of our deadliest enemy, with whom we are engaged in a life-and-death struggle. Does not this raise the suspicion that people who think and act like Biddle look upon the Soviet Union as a potential enemy, with whom the sooner we break our alliance the better? And since it is now clear to most Americans that we need the Soviet Union at least as much as it needs us, it turns out that to be pro-Soviet, far from being anti-American, is decidedly in the national interest of the United States. Red-baiting attacks on American Communists by Dies and Biddle are simply a smokescreen to mask their hostility to the Anglo-American-Soviet alliance, which they dare not attack too openly.

Furthermore, the exceptional laws aimed at Communists are a negation of American democratic principles violating the tradition of Jefferson. "The persecution of Communists for their political opinions," declares Browder, "is not merely the particular concern of the Communists, any more than the persecution of Jews on account of their religion is a matter of concern only to the Jews, or the persecution of Catholics a matter only for the Catholics to worry about, or the Jim-Crowing of Negro citizens only a matter concerning Negroes; but on the contrary, every one of these systematic attacks upon minorities is a denial of democratic rights to all citizens, a distortion of our country's entire political life, and a menace to the successful prosecution of the war" (p. 103).

* * *

In the midst of the greatest and costliest battles of the war, opened up by the invasion of Europe, we are facing a Presidential election. Should the 1944 elections bring an eruption of extreme partisanship, it would have the most damaging effect on our winning a speedy victory and an enduring peace. The problem is how to subdue partisanship in the interests of national unity. Browder recalls that Lincoln faced a similar problem in the critical election of 1864 as President Roosevelt does today. There is a unique parallel between 1864 and 1944, taking into account, of course, the different historical circumstances. Lincoln met the issue by leading a non-partisan coalition to win the election. Roosevelt must face the fact that unless he agrees to run for a fourth term, the country would be plunged into unrestrained factionalism which would put the nation at the mercy of the defeatists at the most crucial stage of the greatest military battles in history. The nation must draft Roosevelt and conduct the elections in a non-partisan spirit, leaving the Commander-in-Chief free to direct the war and lay the foundation for peace in the spirit of Teheran. The people must take the election campaign out of the hands of old political machines and parties, overriding party alignments and class divisions, setting aside every divisive issue, and concentrating only on uniting the nation in this great emergency. "For or against Teheran" is the only issue, as Browder

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presents it. Labor has the responsibility to organize for political action on a non-partisan basis, uniting all win-the-war forces of whatever party or class, and especially the great body of independent voters taking their stand on issues regardless of party labels. This is the road to victory in the elections.

The changes in Communist organization are in accord with this perspective for the 1944 elections and the long-term prospects opened up by the Teheran compact. Marxists have given up their own party to operate within the traditional two-party system as a non-party Communist political association, which will cooperate with the great majority of Americans in the camp of national unity. They seek no partisan advantages, and will not raise the issue of socialism as a practical issue in the United States, now or in the immediate post-war period. In order to make their most effective contribution to the working class and the nation in the changed conditions of today, the American adherents of scientific socialism dissolved the Communist Party of the United States and formed the Communist Political Association.

Browder caustically observes that the hue and cry which these proposed changes aroused ranged all the way from charges of "betrayal of Marxism" by those who always attacked Marxism, to demands that the Communists must maintain their own party by those who only recently insisted that it should dissolve. From accusations that Marxists were dogmatic, these critics have swung around now to the complaint that Marxists refuse to adhere to dogmas. Because the public discussion in the press concerning the Communist viewpoint seldom rises above this level, Browder summarizes in his concluding chapter what Marxism contributes to America.

"The highest contribution Marxism has to make to American life," he says, "is the introduction of science into politics." Because Marxists see history as a process of constant change, they are the first to understand and evaluate new and unprecedented situations, which require new and unprecedented solutions. They are the enemies of dogmatism, which would apply old formulas of past historical situations to a new and vastly different setting. But far from cutting themselves off from the past, they "stand on the shoulders of the past." They apply their understanding of the principles of history to guide and control the direction of history. Marxism is above all a guide to victory in the war. No matter what its detractors may say, it will be judged by that test.

Thus, also, will be judged Earl Browder's *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace*. It is a book which America needs, and cannot but make a profound impression on its political life and thought. It shows a sense of responsibility and statesmanship of the highest order, keen in foresight, consistent in basic principle, flexible in its application. Its quiet strength breathes of confidence in the American people, in their ability to meet the problems of the future in the great American tradition. It will help America to think fast and think straight.

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WHAT IS BEHIND THE ATTACK ON THE C.I.O. POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE?

BY MAX GORDON

THE 1944 election campaign has thus far been marked by persistent, many-sided efforts on the part of the Roosevelt-haters, including both G.O.P. leaders and tory Democrats, to usurp power by barring from the polls millions of people likely to favor the President.

The process started with the crippling of the federal soldier ballot. It was followed by the refusal of the Senate to kill the filibuster against the anti-poll tax bill. While other forces and factors were involved in this instance, many who opposed the move to shut off the filibuster undoubtedly had in view the past and prospective services to the anti-F.D.R. cause on the part of polltax Congressmen.

The anti-Roosevelt conspiracy hatched by Democratic Party leaders in Texas, Mississippi and South Carolina, and abetted by Republicans, is part of the process. While it does not contemplate keeping millions of people away from the polls, as do the soldier vote and the polltax, it is directed at negating the ballots of the Democratic voter by having the presidential electors vote for someone other than the President after the voters will have cast their ballots for him.

Finally, for the past six months a determined campaign has been waged to put the C.I.O. Political Action Committee out of business. The purpose here is to limit labor's participation in the elections, both organizationally and politically. Should the campaign be allowed to succeed, it would probably cut the vote by several million this fall.

Behind the campaign against P.A.C. is the same assortment of defeatists, reactionaries and partisan-blinded Republicans that has fought the President's war program in Congress and out. Because labor is the most advanced win-the-war force in the nation, its independent political activity is recognized by defeatism as one of the most dangerous threats to its program. And since P.A.C. is the most powerful expression of labor's independent role in politics, it has naturally become a major target of the defeatists. Whatever successes they might manage to register against P.A.C. would equally affect the political activity of the A. F. of L.

Similarly, reactionaries have good reason to fear the activity of P.A.C. as the political instrument of the most progressive section of the labor movement serving the inter-

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ests of the entire win-the-war camp.

Partisan Republicans who place the election of a Republican president above the national welfare are also out gunning for the P.A.C. which, in accordance with the consistent win-the-war sentiments of the C.I.O. membership is supporting President Roosevelt for reelection as the "only man in public life today qualified to lead the nation during the next four years."

The P.A.C. was organized a year ago with a three-fold objective:

(1) To educate the people concerning the issues involved in the elections, and to acquaint them with the records of Congressmen and other public officials.

(2) To unite labor politically in support of the war program of the Roosevelt Administration, and to develop unity between labor and other sections of the population.

(3) To build a trade union apparatus in each community to get out the vote.

The success of its activities thus far can be measured by the intensity of the struggle waged against it by the defeatist, reactionary and partisan foes of the President.

That struggle began back in January when Rep. Howard Smith, Virginia polltaxer who sponsored the Smith-Connally anti-labor measure last year, demanded that Attorney General Francis Biddle investigate the P.A.C. Smith's demand was made on the basis of an article by C.I.O. President Philip Murray in the *American Magazine* in which the aims of the Committee were set forth. Murray announced that close to $700,000 had been contributed by trade unions to the Committee. Subsequently, the P.A.C. released a detailed financial statement showing contributions of $670,000 and expenditures of $190,000.

Rep. Smith's demand for an investigation was based on a section of the Smith-Connally Act which amended the Federal Corrupt Practices Act to make it unlawful for "any labor organization to make a contribution in connection with an election at which presidential electors or a senator or a representative . . . in Congress are to be voted for." The original Corrupt Practices Act was aimed at barring political contributions from banks and corporations. The Smith-Connally measure completely distorted the Act's purpose by including the unions. Primary elections and nominating conventions are specifically excluded from the provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act.

Attorney General Biddle acceded to Rep. Smith's request and ordered a Grand Jury inquiry. Three months later he cleared the P.A.C., after an F.B.I. investigation, on the grounds that the Committee had confined its activities until that time to backing specific legislative measures and to getting out the vote. He also said that the P.A.C. was not a political committee within the meaning of the Smith-Connally law, and trade unions were not, therefore, barred from contributing to it.

In his letter to Rep. Smith, however, in which the opinion was given, Biddle virtually invited further complaints by "assuring" the Virginia Congressman that he

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would clamp down on the P.A.C. if its future activities did not "conform to the provisions of the federal statute."

Smith insisted that the investigation be reopened, because of "new evidence," and three days later the obliging Mr. Biddle again acceded to his demand.

Meanwhile Martin Dies moved in on the situation and demanded the P.A.C. books and records. He was turned down cold by Sidney Hillman, P.A.C. chairman, on the grounds that the work of the C.I.O. Committee was none of the Dies Committee's business. Dies then issued a subpoena for the books and records, which Hillman ignored. The doughty Texas Congressman has not yet summoned up the courage to take action to test whether it is within the province of his committee to investigate such organizations as the P.A.C.

An effort to get the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee to investigate the P.A.C. was rejected after F.B.I. men testified that it had broken no law.

Hillman Testifies

Hillman, however, volunteered to appear before the Senate body in order to clear the P.A.C. On June 13 he testified that the C.I.O. political committee was set up as a permanent agency of the C.I.O. "for the coordination and direction of its activities in the field of political education." It had made no endorsements, he said, except that of President Roosevelt. Since, however, the current campaign for the President was in the nature of a nominating campaign, it did not come under the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act.

The P.A.C. head did intimate that after the nomination of the President, certain activities of his committee might come under the provisions of the Act. He insisted, however, that the Committee would "lean over backwards" to observe the law even though it considered it unfair.

Hillman emphasized in his statement that the Committee is primarily an educational apparatus, devoted to clarifying issues and getting the people out to vote. This is not a violation of the law. He noted that while there was a terrific outcry against the C.I.O. committee, he had heard "no interest expressed" in the high-powered campaigns of older and far richer organizations.

He mentioned specifically the Education Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers and the "interlocking agency spawned by big business to carry on its high-powered campaign of political propaganda." He called attention to the "plans and expenditures" of the duPont and Pew families "who are on record as having contributed $186,000 and $108,000 respectively to the Republican campaign of 1940." Pew is also reputed to have financed heavily the "Democratic revolt" against the President in Texas.

He charged that labor's political activity was being singled out for attack and suggested an investigation of Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government, which has been flooding the coun-

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try with anti-F.D.R. tracts for the past few years. Gannett's outfit spent over $300,000 in 1943 and distributed 26,000,000 pieces of literature. Gannett funds were also involved in the Texas affair.

When one of the Senators made an attempt to draw a parallel between the contributions of DuPont and the $100,000 contributed to P.A.C. by one of the unions, Hillman pointed out that P.A.C. had received a total of $700,000 from 5,000,000 C.I.O. members, whereas the G.O.P. had received over $100,000 from a single family.

The G.O.P. Joins the Attack

Until the end of May, active foes of the Committee were chiefly Southern reactionaries. The Republicans said little on the subject until G.O.P. National Chairman Harrison E. Spangler wrote a letter to Mr. Biddle on May 30 demanding that he act against the P.A.C. Spangler's action was immediately picked up by Senator Hugh Butler, Nebraska Republican, who demanded that a Senate Committee investigate the C.I.O. body. He was followed soon afterward by Senator Edward Moore, Oklahoma Republican, who put the pressure on Biddle to act. Soon afterward, the House Rules Committee voted to include P.A.C. in a sweeping investigation of election expenditures.

At the Senate Committee hearing, where Hillman testified, his persistent and antagonistic questioners were the two Republican members, Senators Homer Ferguson of Michigan and Joseph Ball of Minnesota.

The G.O.P.'s failure to act until five months after the tory Democrats began their war against P.A.C. apparently is due to two factors. First, it was playing with the idea of organizing its own labor committee to counteract P.A.C. and gave it up as a bad job when it was clear that the people it could get were so completely discredited that they would do more harm than good. A few days after Spangler's attack on the Hillman Committee, the G.O.P. announced that it would not organize a labor committee this year.

Second, the P.A.C. gave its first impressive demonstrations of strength in the various primaries in May. On May 2, there were the Alabama and Florida primaries, in which the C.I.O. strongly backed Senators Lister Hill and Claude Pepper in their successful fights for renomination, and opposed Rep. Joe Starnes of the Dies Committee, who was eliminated. Then came the retirement of Martin Dies, the defeat of Rep. Costello, another Dies Committee member, in California and the victories of several labor-backed candidates for various offices in that state, the elimination of Senator Rufus Holman, notorious defeatist, in the Oregon Republican primaries, and the victory of Luther Patrick, leading Southern supporter of F.D.R., over Rep. John Newsome in the Alabama runoff primary. All of these results were credited, in greater or lesser degree, to P.A.C. They did much to smash the carefully nurtured myth of an anti-Roosevelt trend in the nation.

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Behind the assault on P.A.C. is the hysterical fear of reaction that America's citizens will turn out to vote this year in greater numbers than ever before and that they will not vote blindly along party lines or be fooled by the flood of defeatist anti-F.D.R. agitation inundating the nation.

"The great asset of the C.I.O. Political Action Committee is not the money in its treasury," Sidney Hillman said when the P.A.C. financial statement was released. "We could not hope to compete with the gentlemen who have made us the target of their abuse in the expenditure of funds. . . . What we have and they lack cannot be measured in money. . . . It is the confidence, the good-will, the enthusiastic cooperation of millions of Americans who are searching for a program to meet their needs and aspirations for a speedy victory in the war and a peaceful and secure world. . . .

Shibboleths of Reaction

"The C.I.O. Political Action Committee has won their support because it has brought them such a program and is showing them how that program can be realized through the exercise of their rights as citizens. It is for this reason, and not because of the size of our treasury, that we have earned the enmity of those whose only hope of coming to power rests upon their ability to confuse and divide the people, divert their attention from the real issues and prevent them from making intelligent and enlightened use of their democratic rights."

Besides the technical assaults upon P.A.C., its foes have charged it with being Communist-dominated and with attempting to set up a labor dictatorship. The two lines of attack are inspired by national G.O.P. headquarters. A recent well-known Washington News Letter "predicted" that these two arguments would be used extensively against the Committee, and the prediction has been amply fulfilled.

As far as the charge of Communist domination is concerned, it is the familiar Goebbels line imported to America by those who seek to evade the real issues and to confuse and divide the nation by scaring up bogeys. Those who use it against P.A.C. are frequently the same people who attack the President for our policy of alliance with the Soviet Union by charging "surrender to Stalin." The "Communist" charge is basically the device of the foes of national and United Nations unity. While the "Communist bogey" has been considerably exposed by developing events, the danger of its recrudescence in new and varying guises is not over. The effective defeat of this Goebbels device is the task of all who stand for anti-fascist unity.

The second charge—that of labor domination—recalls the arguments of the anti-union employers in the bitter days when labor was battling to establish its unions. Economic organizations of labor were then branded as illegal combinations formed to interfere with the rights of private property. The idea that a worker had the right to say anything concerning wages and work-

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ing hours was considered nothing short of confiscation. Now, labor's efforts to organize politically are pictured as nothing short of taking over the government by the trade unions.

The work of P.A.C. is not confined to labor and certainly not to labor issues. The candidates it has supported have not been labor men in the great majority of cases and the program has been one of national unity and national welfare, around which it has sought to unite all groups.

It has met with considerable success on a state and local scale in uniting C.I.O. and A. F. of L. behind labor's common political program and objectives. William Green's letter some months ago demanding that relations between C.I.O. and A. F. of L. be severed has been largely ignored. The majority in the A. F. of L. Executive Council refused to endorse it. Many A. F. of L. international and local unions are building a political apparatus among their members along lines similar to the P.A.C. and often in cooperation with it. Should reaction's attack on P.A.C. succeed in banning the C.I.O. body, the A. F. of L. would also be a victim. A. F. of L. support to P.A.C.'s struggle for existence is, therefore, a matter of fighting for its own right to function politically.

Moreover, it is a matter of fighting for a basic right of labor which, if destroyed, can open the way to crushing many other activities now conducted by the labor movement. Even those sections of the A. F. of L. which may frown upon independent action by the trade union movement in the field of politics have a direct interest in defeating the current attacks on P.A.C., irrespective of factional or partisan considerations. No A. F. of L. organization or leader can afford to look with any benevolence or even with any passivity upon the efforts to destroy P.A.C. on the grounds that it is a C.I.O.-initiated committee. Its destruction would be a major blow to the functioning and the rights of the entire labor movement.

But not only labor is affected. Those who are fighting P.A.C. are motivated by their opposition to the intelligent participation of the masses in politics. They are actually attacking the democratic process itself. Like their drive against the soldier vote and like the Southern Democratic "uprising," their campaign against P.A.C. is part of the drive to destroy that process now that the people are increasingly participating in it on the basis of issues and principle rather than on the basis of blind adherence to machine politics. Thus, the fight for P.A.C. becomes a fight for all sections of the population who want to preserve American democracy and go forward to decisive victory over fascism.

The P.A.C. program is not a "labor" program in any narrow sense. It is a platform for the entire nation, for winning the war and winning the peace. This is the primary reason for the attack upon it by the defeatists. And it is the primary reason for support and defense of the P.A.C. by labor and the people.

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RESOLUTIONS

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION

RECONVERSION

[*The Main Resolution, on the Reports of Earl Browder, appeared in the June issue. The August issue will contain the further Resolutions adopted by the Convention. The Editors.*]

THE problem of reconversion cannot be postponed for action until after the war. It must be grappled with and mastered in its basic aspects now, not only as a post-war task but as a prime war consideration. This is so because the process of reconversion will get under way long before military hostilities have completely ceased, in fact, it has already begun in the form of considerable cutbacks in war orders. Therefore, any failure to treat this problem as a serious and immediate one may have the most dire consequences upon national unity and morale during the most crucial military phase of the war and on the eve of the November elections.

The period of reconversion will be a difficult and trying one. Millions of workers will be thrown out of work and forced to seek new employment. Furthermore, millions of servicemen will be returning to the labor market precisely at the time when industry will be least prepared to absorb them.

It is to be hoped that the reconversion period will be relatively short, but it will probably last from one to two years. It will represent a period of transition from wartime to peacetime economy, a period in which the answer will be given as to whether the war is to be followed by orderly progress, based upon national unity, or whether the country is to be rent apart by internecine class strife.

At this moment it is necessary to stress the danger arising from a mechanical and one-sided placing of the problem without regard for the continued and growing needs of the war effort. The best way to minimize this danger is to prepare and plan now to meet all our reconversion problems. Only to the extent that war needs permit do we favor the immediate reconversion of excess or idle plant facilities for civilian production.

It is in this basic respect that the Baruch-Hancock report on reconversion is essentially sound. We agree with its premise that "prep-

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arations for demobilization are inseparable from the actual conduct of the war," and that the government agencies that did the mobilizing also have to do the demobilizing. If this is coupled with the adoption of the Baruch-Hancock proposals for an extension of the Price Control Act and of the priorities system to cover the period of reconversion, we have a few basic guarantees that the process of reconversion will not run counter to the needs of the war and will be orderly and controlled.

A second danger that must be signalized is the disturbing tendency of various groups to approach the problems of the reconversion and post-war period from narrow class and selfish partisan points of view, instead of taking as their starting point the needs of the nation as a whole. An important means of avoiding or minimizing this danger is labor's initiative in proposing practical plans to management and government in the interests of the nation as a whole.

If national unity is to be maintained and even strengthened in the period of reconversion, the nation as a whole must assume responsibility for adequately meeting the trying needs of those thrown out of work, and especially those demobilized from the armed forces. Industry should be encouraged to invest so as to reconvert as rapidly as possible to peacetime production. The main burden of providing full employment must rest upon private enterprise. To stimulate this process, we support the Baruch-Hancock proposals for the speedy termination and prompt settlement of war contracts, but call for far more adequate and stringent measures which would guarantee the protection of the nation against fraud.

In respect to war plants and surplus materials owned outright by the government, we favor their sale or lease to private owners, but on the condition that the purchaser or lessee guarantees the utilization of their full productive capacity. Where surplus tools and materials cannot be disposed of in this fashion, we favor their outright sale on long-term credits to foreign countries for purposes of reconstruction or industrialization.

While private industry has the major responsibility for providing full employment in the post-war period, the problems of reconversion will be so multiple, complicated and difficult as to require the joint and united efforts of industry, labor, farmers and the government. The government, by setting up a special board on reconversion, including representatives of industry, labor and the farmers, must work out plans not only for meeting the human emergencies that will arise, but for guaranteeing the most orderly and rapid reconversion of private industry. Likewise, small business will require financial assistance from the government in order to meet the conditions of reconversion and to be able to compete with larger business units. And, above all else, the needs and rights of veterans to jobs and so-

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cial security must be ensured by timely governmental and Congressional action.

In order to meet the human needs of the period of reconversion and to cushion the shock and dislocations of this transitional period, we propose that labor, management and farmers unite in support of the following practical measures:

1. A federal law to meet the problem of industrial demobilization, such as the Kilgore Bill. This law is to extend adequate supplementary unemployment insurance benefits to all workers thrown out of work. These benefits are to be paid for by the Federal Government and to be included as part of the cost of the war. Payment to start promptly upon loss of job and to continue until employment is found. The law is to remain in effect for two years after cessation of all military hostilities.

2. The planning of a comprehensive public works program for both rural and urban areas in the form of slum clearance and public housing, super-speed highways, rural electrification, river valley developments, flood control, soil conservation, reforestation, schools and hospitals. These to be planned by city, state and federal government and to be put into operation as a subordinate but yet important means of providing employment during the period of reconversion, and after that period to absorb any possible existing slack in employment. The municipalities and states bear a special responsibility in promoting such public work programs as they are today in the main in solvent financial positions as compared with the federal government.

3. As unemployment develops, due to dislocations arising from reconversion, we urge the immediate return to the shorter work week at adequate union wage standards.

4. An adequate severance pay—let this be treated in the same responsible fashion as the termination of other war contracts.

5. Provisions against abrupt lay-offs—at least two weeks prior notice for all workers.

6. Protection of seniority rights, especially of servicemen. Special measures to guarantee that the Negro workers and women do not carry an undue share of the burden of mass lay-offs.

7. Labor-management-government cooperation to provide workers with all available information as to job prospects and reconversion plans for a given community or industry.

8. Increase the purchasing power of the workers, farmers and middle classes. Protect this by maintaining a floor under farm prices and a ceiling over all prices of both farm and industrial products.

9. Adequate labor representation on all government bodies handling problems of reconversion and production.

10. Likewise it is essential that such vital measures for protecting the welfare and rights of the veterans, as the G.I. Rights Bill, shall be enacted into law without delay or crippling amendments.

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WAGE POLICY

1. THE wage demands of the steel workers deserve the active support of the entire nation, because the balance between wages and prices can only be maintained by adjusting the Little Steel Formula in accordance with increased living costs. The steel workers, now as in the past, are championing the interests of the entire labor movement. They are fighting for a sound wage stabilization policy essential for the maintenance of the highest level of production and morale, demanded by the needs of the war and the post-war reconstruction.

Fulfillment of the steel workers' demands together with the enactment into law of socially necessary war legislation recommended by the Administration and supported by labor and the people generally will lay the basis for the amicable adjustment of all outstanding wage demands and will help stabilize the entire war economy. It will serve to defeat the provocations of such defeatist employers as Avery and their henchmen in the ranks of the labor movement (the Lewises, Trotskyites, etc.) who are attempting to provoke strikes and create economic chaos on the home front in the midst of our nation's supreme effort to deal the death blow to our Axis enemies.

The satisfactory settlement of the steel wage dispute will set an example and serve as a criterion for all other necessary wage adjustments required for maximum production and economic stabilization. The steel wage issue therefore, stands above narrow partisan consideration and requires the same statesmanship and support from all sections of labor as was demonstrated by Daniel Tobin in influencing the A. F. of L. to take a constructive stand in the Montgomery Ward case.

2. The demands of the steel workers, as well as the demands of many other workers including the millions in the white collar category, are fully justified. Labor's share in the national income has declined while profits continue to soar to new and unprecedented heights. The workers' real income has been undermined by rising prices, higher taxes, and deterioration in the quality of consumer goods essential to the workers. That labor's grievances can and must be met has been given added emphasis by the report of the Pepper-Thomas Committee of the United States Senate which recommended, after careful study, that all limits on wages and salaries of less than $200 per month for married men, and $150 for single men, be removed.

3. The one-sided and unbalanced functioning of the Administration's wage stabilization program is primarily due to the disruptive influence of the reactionary Congressional coalition of Hoover-Dewey Republicans, and the Reynolds bloc of Southern Bourbons and Wheeler Democrats. This coalition reflects in Congress the activities of reactionary and defeatist elements and that section of industry which places

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greed and self-interest above the interests of the nation. These forces obstruct and undermine the stabilization program of the Roosevelt Administration and strive to dislocate the war economy with the aim of turning popular dissatisfaction to partisan advantage. The wage difficulties are also often aggravated by certain Administration agencies which strive to appease the reactionary forces and adopt an inflexible position on the question of necessary wage adjustments.

4. Labor's efforts to secure wage adjustments and remove inequalities in the wage-price stabilization program must continue on the basis of the strictest adherence to the no-strike pledge in all industries, on the basis of subordinating everything to win the war. Labor can win its demands only by the fullest development of effective political action conducted in a manner that will strengthen national unity and achieve a rounded-out economic stabilization program, a sound wage policy, price control subsidies, and an equitable tax program. This demands united labor action, close cooperation between labor and the farmers, middle classes, and patriotic employers. It requires the strengthening of labor's support for the policies of the President as against all those who wish to undermine and nullify the policies and leadership of the government. For these policies provide the foundation for achieving not only direct wage adjustments, but also the complete elimination of existing wage inequalities including those arising from discriminatory practices against Negro and women workers, and North-South wage differentials. Through united action, and in close collaboration with the government, the labor movement can most effectively win under the existing powers of the War Labor Board, wage adjustments through up-grading, job reclassification and merit increases based on increased production, as well as help ensure the expansion of the social security program and the adoption of other measures to meet the problems of dislocation and unemployment during the period of reconversion. Special attention must be given to the integration of demobilized servicemen into industry on the basis of the job ratings and skills acquired while in the service.

5. The demands of the steel workers for a guaranteed annual wage should receive the support not only of the entire labor movement, but of all those who wish to strengthen national unity for victory and to assure a peaceful and orderly post-war development. The adoption of a guaranteed annual wage will not only represent the new level of progress in labor's striving for security, but will also advance the social welfare and democratic development of the nation as a whole.

The great financial reserves of the large industrial corporations and the tax laws that protect industry against losses for the first two years of the post-war period make it possible for large-scale industry to grant the workers a guaranteed annual wage. Moreover, the country's post-war perspective of full produc-

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tion and maximum employment makes the adoption of a guaranteed annual wage essential to the orderly progress of our nation. Such a policy, if adopted for all workers, would immediately solidify national unity. Freedom from the fear of post-war insecurity would give added impetus to production for victory and would provide a powerful stimulus in striving for efficiency in production now and in the post-war period. On the basis of full employment or a guaranteed annual wage, together with necessary trade union safeguards, conditions would also be created for the establishment of a system of increased wage earnings to correspond fully to every increase in production.

6. The granting of the wage demands of the steel workers is a prelude to similar adjustments for all industrial, agricultural, government, and white collar workers and calls for intelligent statesmanship and foresight on the part of government, employers and labor. The paramount consideration must be national unity for victory and post-war security. The principle of sound economic stabilization now and a policy of constantly improving the living standards and purchasing power of the people based upon maximum production and employment, is a vital cornerstone for the prosperity and well-being not alone of labor, but of the farmers, small businessmen, and of the nation as a whole.

SERVICEMEN AND VETERANS

1. The finest of an American generation is in uniform. In our country's war effort theirs is the place of highest honor, heaviest sacrifice, and severest hardship. The blood which they are shedding gives a sacred character to the responsibilities of the home front in ensuring the victorious prosecution of the war and a durable peace.

2. In order to fulfill its special obligations to our men and women in the armed forces, the nation must ensure the success of the courageous non-partisan fight led by President Roosevelt to secure for all servicemen and women the ability to fully and effectively vote in the 1944 elections; extend the morale, cultural and welfare services and ties linking the men and women of the armed forces with their patriotic countrymen on the home front; secure for Negro men and women in all branches of the armed forces and civilian life equal treatment and opportunity; extend and improve the system of democratic education and orientation courses in the services.

The activities and influence of defeatist forces and their press aimed at creating in the ranks of servicemen and women opposition to our country's war policies, distrust of our country's allies, hostility toward our country's Commander-in-Chief, and enmity toward organized labor must be effectively curbed and suppressed.

3. Further: The government and the American people must meet in full their fundamental obligations to our servicemen and women as they

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return to civilian life, especially to guarantee them jobs and social security, and this is an immediate, current problem, as well as a post-war matter, for already 80,000 servicemen are being discharged each month. Therefore, advance planning and legislative and organizational measures must be inaugurated and adopted now to insure returning servicemen and women a full and secure place in the productive life of the nation in industry, agriculture, and the professions; opportunity for educational and vocational training; comprehensive social insurance; improved provisions for medical care, rehabilitation; maintenance at adequate standards of disabled and maimed veterans; as well as adequate pensions and federal aid to the dependents of all veterans.

The constructive participation of representatives of organized labor together with government and management in post-war planning on the needs of returning veterans must be further developed. The activities of organized labor in the legislative field must be increased in behalf of measures vital to servicemen and veterans, such as the bill approved by the Disabled Veterans of America (H.R. 2950) eliminating barriers to the employment of partially disabled veterans in existing state employment compensation laws, and the American Legion "G.I. Rights Bill" (Servicemen's Aid Act of 1944 which should be enacted and improved). The special problems of veterans entering industry, such as partial disability, lack of seniority, and union initiation fees must be met in a manner which will protect the common interests of the veterans and labor, and strengthen the bonds of unity between veterans and organized labor.

4. Unity of purpose and effort between servicemen at the front and workers on the production lines is forging victory. A continuation of this unity after victory is essential if our country is to move forward in the solution of its internal problems and in the construction of a durable peace. It is an indispensable condition of post-war national unity and will be one of its strongest and indispensable bulwarks.

In the national interest, as well as in the interests of our servicemen and organized labor, the constructive role of the labor movement must be strengthened by the entrance of returning veterans into the ranks and leadership of the trade unions. The established veterans' organizations, such as the American Legion as well as the Veterans of Foreign Wars, must be further built. Cooperation and unity of action between organized labor, the American Legion and other established veterans' organizations must be strengthened in the field of veterans' and servicemen's affairs and on all matters vital to the nation.

ANTI-POLL TAX BILL (H.R. 7)

Ten million Americans, six million white and four million Negro citizens, in seven states are disfranchised by the poll tax. The consti-

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tutional right of these citizens to vote, to participate fully and freely in our democratic political life, is thereby impaired or denied.

The poll tax, as well as the "white primary," is a political device by means of which an unrepresentative minority in the South Bourbons flout the will of the ma- means by which the Southern Bourbons flout the will of the majority of the people of the thirteen Southern states, within Congress and without. It is a restriction on the right of the nation as a whole to fully ensure government by majority rule.

Moreover, today, the poll tax is a weapon in the hands of the pro-fascists in their attempt to create disruption and disunity at home and in our relations with our Allies, the majority of whom are colored peoples. The struggle against the poll tax thus becomes a struggle for national unity, equality and freedom.

The passage of the anti-poll tax bill, H.R. 7, would greatly aid the nation to achieve an all-inclusive, maximum war victory drive, as well as to cement more closely the United Nations coalition for a speedy victory and an enduring peace.

This National Convention goes unqualifiedly on record for the continued campaign to abolish the poll tax. Likewise we call for the immediate enforcement of the Supreme Court decision abolishing the "white primary." We reaffirm the position of our General Secretary, Earl Browder, that on these issues "we are in principle intransigent, uncompromising, irreconcilable."

CHINA

1. For almost seven years the heroic people of China have defended their nation from the bestial Japanese invader. For a long period before the coalition of the United Nations was formed they valiantly held aloft the banner of national freedom and checked the rapacious plans of Axis aggression in the Far East.

Today we again pay tribute to the magnificent courage and tenacity of the Chinese people, of their soldiers, and particularly of their guerrilla fighters who have carried on relentless war against the invaders and prevented a consolidation of their gains. China's armies, ill-equipped against modern arms, have written pages of heroism by their epic struggle against the enemy. Of all China's armed forces, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, operating from bases in China's northwest, and overcoming the most difficult obstacles, continue to engage far more than their numerical share of enemy forces, to inflict heavy casualties upon the personnel and materiel of the Japanese and to deepen the roots of democracy among all those with whom they come in contact. These armies and the millions of patriots supporting them are the most stalwart fighters for China's freedom and firm defenders of the cause of the United Nations.

2. As the blows of the Allied forces against the Axis increase in

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frequency and in power with the opening of the Second Front against Hitler's forces in the decisive European theater of the war and the simultaneous stepping-up of offensive operations in the Pacific, the American people view with grave concern the continuation of internal discord and disunity within China fostered by pro-Japanese, anti-United Nations elements in the Kuomintang. Symbolized by the military blockade of the Border Regions which form the base of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, by the long failure on the part of the Chungking authorities to give any aid whatsoever to these fighting forces, by the provocative and inflammatory statements and actions of Chinese fascists and defeatists in high positions, and by their hostility to all forms of democracy—that disunity threatens the continued existence of the Chinese nation and imperils the coalition war of the United Nations. It impedes the fulfillment of the Cairo decisions and undermines the position of China in future world relations.

3. Those within China who plot against their own people are aided by the defeatists and appeasers and outright fascists in this country who criticize and do everything possible to block the unfolding of the United Nations' grand strategy for victory. The so-called Pacific Firsters, led by Hearst and other pro-fascists, play directly into the hands of the divisive pro-Axis gang in Chungking. Under the guise of defeating Japan first, they seek to reverse the historic decisions of Tehe-ran, and thereby would save both Hitler Germany and its Japanese ally from destruction. It is the task of all patriotic Americans, in aiding the Chinese people to overcome their difficulties, to expose and defeat this enemy in our own ranks. For only when the continent of Europe has been purged of Hitlerism will it be possible to come to the full aid of China in ridding the world of the rapacious Japanese imperialists.

4. The problem of speedily overcoming Chinese disunity, of forging China's national liberation front, is not the exclusive concern of the Chinese. It is a vital war problem which belongs to all the peoples of the United Nations. Therefore, the American people and their government must exercise their influence on behalf of the Chinese people in their struggle for national unity and independence. To this end we recommend, for one thing, the establishment of American military and consular representation in the Northwest Border regions.

5. China and the United States must work more and more closely together in unison with all of the United Nations to realize the historic agreements of the Cairo Conference and the Declaration of Moscow. Such an alliance based upon an all-inclusive national unity of all anti-Axis forces within each nation is the precondition for unconditional victory and for the relation which must govern post-war amity. The United States has a great role to play not only in fighting a war of coalition with China but also in assisting in the future reconstruc-

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tion of a liberated Chinese nation in concert with the Soviet Union and Great Britain. It is time now to hammer out that close alliance needed for the victory and the post-war stability of both these great nations and their allies.

In line with this it is necessary for America to coordinate its military efforts in the Far East more fully with those of China and to augment lend-lease aid to China, ensuring that adequate supplies also reach the 8th Route Army. Likewise it is necessary to insure liberated China large-scale and long-term credits underwritten by our government for undertaking a gigantic plan of post-war construction under Chinese sovereignty and for promoting extensive trade between our countries.

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